Handling the Dead:
A Haptic Archaeology of the English Cathedral Dead

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By Ruth Helen Nugent

October 2015

Abstract

This thesis takes a *longue dureé* approach to the manifold ways in which those engaging with English cathedrals have been able to physically interact with the bodies, burials, and monuments of the dead. Three themes are explored to that effect: Haptic Experiences, Haptic Interactions, and Haptic Connections. Haptic Experiences takes a fresh, nuanced look at the evolution of English shrine architecture in relation to tensions between the sight and touch of pilgrims. Haptic Interactions employs new and different data surveyed from monuments within five cathedral interiors: historic graffiti, iconoclastic damage, and haptic erosion and staining. This is explored through a lens of touch as a component of early modern masculinities. Haptic Connections explores the presencing of the absent and displaced dead through touch and bodiliness of both the living and the dead in the (late) modern cathedral. Such an approach requires a multi-strand methodology, harnessing archaeological and documentary evidence, and multiple datasets. This allows the thesis to examine both period-specific practices and recurring themes of touch and emotion, identity, and re-connection which have been central to haptic explorations of the dead in past and present incarnations of the English cathedral.

Contents

List of Figures

Appendices

List of Tables

Glossary of Terms

Cathedrals	A specific type of church which is the seat of the (arch)bishop
Churches	All types of Christian churches, including monastic churches, parish churches, ministers, and cathedrals.
Cremains	Human remains which have been cremated.
Grave-covers	The range of rectangular recumbent stones installed above graves.
Haptic	From the Greek *haptikos*, 'able to grasp or perceive'. An umbrella term for the range of senses felt through touch (e.g. pressure, weight, heat, texture, proximity). Can also include taste by touching with the tongue and lips.
Microboundaries	The immediate barriers around material features (e.g. monuments, burials, artefacts) which orchestrate how the body can(not) gain access or proximity to the feature. Physical examples include railings, lids, tombs, grave-covers, textiles, screens, coffins. Conceptual examples include custodians, fees, social and religious taboos, cultural etiquette and expectations, and personal responses (e.g. repulsion, desire, fear etc.).
Micropilgrimages	Movement between, and visitation of, monuments and/or burials networked within a mortuaryscape.

Glossary of Terms (Continued)

Mortuaryscape	The above and below-ground features relating to the physical presence of the dead, including burials, human remains, coffins, grave-goods, shrines, and monuments.
Mortuary Monuments	The range of monuments erected to mark burials or commemorate the dead. Including but not limited to tombs, shrines, wall memorials, brasses, grave-covers, and memorial windows.

Full Cathedral Titles

Canterbury Cathedral	Cathedral Church of Christ
Chester Cathedral	Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary
Exeter Cathedral	Cathedral Church of St Peter
Ripon Cathedral	Cathedral Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid
St Albans Cathedral	Cathedral and Abbey Church of St Alban

Acknowledgements

This thesis was funded by a three-year Leverhulme Trust Fellowship as part of the Leverhulme Trust Project *Speaking with the Dead*, itself part of a Leverhulme Trust/ERC funded project *The Past in its Place*, conducted by the universities of Chester and Exeter. My thanks therefore go to The Leverhulme Trust Fellowship for their generous support for this project and the thesis which has derived from it. Further thanks go to fellow members of the *Past in its Place* project for their stimulating ideas. As well as the Deans and Chapters of the various cathedrals who gave the project permission to conduct research, I am also grateful to the many vergers, archivists, librarians, staff and scholars at the cathedrals of Canterbury (Christine Pascall, Jocelyn Prebble, Margaret Sparks, and the librarians); Chester (Simon Ward, John Wolfenden, and the Chester and Cheshire West Archival Staff); Exeter (Dianne Walker, Sarah Grainger); St Albans (David Kelsall, Aisla Herbert, Canon Kevin Walton) and the vergers at Ripon Cathedral. My personal thanks go to Professor Howard Williams for unwavering support and guidance, and to Dr Patricia Murrietta-Flores for generous technical assistance with the heat map and database. Last, but by no means least, my deepest thanks go to my family and friends for all their constant kindnesses and encouragement.

Chapter 1: Introduction: In Touch with the Dead

Introduction: Post-Mortem Bodies

The "emotive materiality and affective presence of human bone" (Krmpotich et al., 2010, 371) has become an important strand in mortuary archaeology, particularly in studies of curated bones and body parts in past societies. The complex ideologies and physical dynamics surrounding the exhumation, processing, circulation, manipulation, narration, and sensory presence of human remains have been explored from a variety of perspectives particularly for prehistoric periods (e.g. Thomas, 2000; Fowler, 2003; 2004; 2008; Stutz, 2003; 2008), often with an emphasis on constructions of self-hood for both the living and the dead. This thesis expands on the "emotive materiality and affective presence" of the dead by exploring how their human remains, burial spaces, and monuments have been physically handled in the context of five English cathedrals from the seventh century to the modern day.

Studies of the historic dead, curated and circulated above-ground, have also offered rich period-specific insights into perceptions of, and interactions with, the corpse. For example, the decomposition of dead bodies and conflagration on pyres may appear to temporarily re-animate the body and the noises occasionally created by freshly inhumed bodies may also create the impression of post-death activity and thus agency of the dead (Williams, 2004; also Barber, 1988; Quigley, 1996). Such phenomena betray an active force, both interpreted and biologically real, animating the surfaces and depths of the dead body and often requiring a physical response by the mourners. Necrophobic acts to address revenantism are an extreme example of interventions with the cadaver, including beheading or dismembering the corpse, stoning or

burning it, re-burying it elsewhere, turning it face down or placing myriad artefacts in the grave as preventatives (see Barber 1988 and specifically Anglo-Saxon examples in Reynolds, 2009). The range of responses to bodies of the unquiet dead is testament to this widespread perception of animate cadavers and the fearful emotions they can engender (see Barber, 1988; Caciola, 1996; Tsaliki, 2008).

However, not all post-burial display and handling of the dead is necessarily connected to criminals, outcasts or 'deviant' burial practices. Devlin and Graham (2015) have begun to interrogate assumptions of 'deviancy' in cases of post-depositional treatment of human remains and Weiss-Krejci (2005) has reminded us that medieval and post-medieval exhumation evisceration, excarnation, and embalming was a logistical device for transporting royal and noble corpses for secondary burial, as well as humiliating ex-communicants. Thus what appear to be the same practices actually belie different aims and agendas.

A brief sketch of post-burial biographies of bodies in historic Europe highlights the importance of the treatment or display of criminal bodies and social outcasts which took place prior to their (eventual) burial. For example, Reynolds (2009) has demonstrated the political and judicial treatment of criminal corpses through their post-burial display in Anglo-Saxon landscapes. Tarlow (2008; 2013) traced the lengthy biography of Oliver Cromwell's curated head (d.1658), which was originally publically displayed to humiliate him in death and signify his political defeat. St Oliver Plunkett's head was similarly conceptualised and thus treated like a criminal body, but eventually his remains were displayed in Drogheda Cathedral following his

posthumous beatification (Tarlow, 2013). Both heads were afforded non-normative treatment and their curation was influenced by their infamy before death.

Crossland (2009) explored histories of exhumation, autopsy and dissection of outcasts in 18th and 19th century Britain and their influence on antiquarian investigations and, thus, the development of archaeology. She demonstrates how this reflects shifting perceptions of the human body have fore-grounded the physicality of the cadaver as both a subject (a person, a series of identities in life and death) and an object in its own right (devoid of autonomy, a mannequin) rather than exploring the cadaver through accompanying material culture, animal remains or burial monuments. Tarlow (2011) also addresses the rise of authorised corpse dissection and anatomy in the early modern period, focussing on body-centred judicial punishment, and the disjointing of criminal bodies. How such bodies were situated within evolving Christian and scientific doctrines of bodily integrity and burial is the central tenet of her investigation. These studies raise important issues about (non)normative treatments of social outcasts within past Christian societies, and in the case of Plunkett, within the Church itself. Yet there is great potential for expanding the remit beyond medical and judicial institutions by exploring how the human remains of the 'normative' dead of the Christian Faithful were also interacted with post-mortem.

Defaced and Disturbed Monuments

Moreover, what is missing from studies of the displaced or unburied historic dead is a sense of the relationship between curated bodies or body parts and the treatment of the monuments

housing, marking or memorialising them. This extends to those which represent or imply bodies and many non-representational media which also pertain to, and affect, bodies. This is particularly true for human remains displayed in church contexts. These bodies were not necessarily of criminals or outcasts, but of the godly who had been exhumed as charnel or whose graves had been ransacked by iconoclasts, or bones and human tissue ascribed to saints. Thus a range of bodies and bones were available to the public in certain periods of time outside of the specialised medical and scientific communities.

Similarly, interactions with the (mutilated) effigial body in church contexts has yet to receive the same consideration. Effigy tombs continue to be explored as nodes within the visual space of church interiors (e.g. Dressler, 2008; 2012; Sand, 2014). Effigies of age cohorts (e.g. Wilson, 1990; 2003; 2003; Oosterwijk, 2000; 2003) and gender groups (e.g. Dressler, 2008; Sherlock, 2008; 2011a) are also of recent interest in church monument studies, mirroring the rise of lifecourse studies in burial archaeology (e.g. Gilchrist, 2012). Cadaver or 'transi' tombs, depicting the dead body in a state of decay, and representations of death as a skeleton (e.g. King, 1990; Oosterwijk, 2008; 2005) have also been singled out for examination. These body images were never as popular in England as they were on the Continent (Saul, 2009, 316, 319). Yet the personification and stylisation of human bodies as an expression and extension of the actual human remains below or within the tomb is ripe for considering within acts of effigy defacement, grave disturbances, and haptic practices.

The defacement of mortuary monuments also has a long history of scholarship under the umbrella of iconoclasm studies, dominated by historians (e.g. Aston, 1988; 2003; Duffy, 1992;

Wandel, 1995; Spraggon, 2003) and art historians (e.g. Gamboni, 1997; Lindley, 2007). The practice of recycling church monuments has also been identified from various periods (e.g. Stocker & Everson, 1990; Eaton, 2000; Badham, 2003; Hutchinson, 2003). Iconoclasm has been resolutely singled out for special attention in all its cultural, religious and period-specific contexts (e.g. Briggs, 1952; Wandel, 1995; Gamboni, 1997). This means that church monuments extant during key periods of Tudor and Cromwellian iconoclasm have received wide-ranging approaches from art historians (e.g. Lindley, 2007), historians (e.g. Aston, 1988; 2003; 2015; Duffy, 2002; 2012; Spraggon, 2003) and to a lesser extent, archaeologists (e.g. Tarlow, 2003; Graves, 2008). Yet contemporaneous looting and graffiti have been glossed as merely anecdotal asides, rather than contextualising them with iconoclasm as part of a wider, haptic practice, specific to certain periods, which were effected above and below ground. Moreover, the physicality of hacking and mutilating effigies by soldiers and civilians in the 17th century (see Spraggon, 2003) and the grave-robbing that accompanied it (e.g. Blockley, et al., 1997, 7) suggests a deeply physical and emotional affair conducted by different audiences against the dead. This aspect of bodily display and exhumation has yet to be examined.

Sensory and Emotive Interactions with Human Remains in Churches

Interests and Anxieties surrounding exposed Human Remains

Antiquarian interest in tomb-openings inside churches and cathedrals (Morris, 1983, 89), public un-wrappings of ancient Egyptian mummies (Rogers, 2012), and fears surrounding body-snatching (e.g. Highet, 2005; Fowler & Powers, 2014) all point to the seemingly conflicting anxieties and interests surrounding physical interactions with the remains of the dead in 19th

century Britain. This is echoed by Hallam (2008) who examines the complex desires in modern Western society to view dissected and excarnated bodies in anatomy collections or specialised modern museums.

Modern concerns about seeing, handling, and storing excavated human remains are a complex and largely unresolved issue for archaeology and other interested parties (Sayer, 2010). For example, at Sheffield Cathedral, multiple bodies were exhumed from the churchyard during excavations by a cemetery clearance company during 1992-1993 but office workers were horrified at being able to see the remains being removed (Sayer, 2010, 84-5). This was despite hoardings being erected, because the sightlines had not been configured to take into account those higher than the hoardings (Sayer, 2010, 84-5). England has been singled out as less well-equipped for the ethics of viewing the dead because there is no precedence for it in the form of open casket funerals or public viewing of exhumations and reburials (Sayer, 2010, 108). Rather, medical institutions and undertakers are the preferred arena for seeing the dead, where 'specialists' actually handle the bodies (Sayer, 2010, 108).

The aforementioned studies by Crossland (2009) and Tarlow (2011) would suggest this is a modern inheritance of increasing control over the corpse by medical and scientific institutions of the early and late modern period. Thus, the unburied dead, in whatever tangible form they take, are capable of being a 'social nexus' within evolving relationships between the living and the dead, evoking memories, stimulating emotions, and providing potent sensory encounters with the dead and the past they once inhabited (Seremetakis, 1991, 177, 179).

However, while osteoarchaeology is currently revisiting the role and use of poorly preserved human remains (Brickley & Buckberry, 2015), mortuary archaeologists have traditionally been reluctant to engage with disturbed burials. This is largely due to their perception as unreliable or irrelevant data sources for those seeking to reconstruct social and religious aspects of the burying society (Aspöck & Klevnäs, 2011/2012, 66).

The Potential Contribution of the Cathedral Dead

A prime arena for exploring long-term interactions, desire, and anxieties surrounding the post-mortem dead is the cathedral. Although not all modern cathedrals originated as such, their survival as cathedrals belies long, unique, and varied histories of public access to the remains of the dead and their monuments. They provide a rich supply of extant monuments, documentary sources, and in some cases, excavated evidence of site- and period-specific actions and beliefs, as well as nationwide trends. Cathedrals were also at the forefront of 17th-century iconoclasm (Spraggon, 2003) and 18th-19th century tomb openings (Morris, 1989, 6).

Furthermore, there is a wide body of literature already surrounding the curation, display, and sensory experiences of the saintly dead in church contexts. This has been an important trope within studies of medieval saint's cults. Geary (1992) has detailed the wide variety of thefts and circulation of saints' remains and contact relics around medieval Europe, in an economy based on physically owning human remains. Wells (2011) emphasises the interplay of light within medieval churches to enhance and evoke the senses when pilgrims encountered shrines. Blick (2005; 2011) reminds us that pilgrim badges were carried by pilgrims partly so they could invoke the saint at any time by touching it in prayer and petition. Brasinski and Fryxell (2013) explored the smells surrounding medieval saints' relics and the importance of olfactory triggers to confirm

a saint's authenticity, and as a way of focussing the pilgrim on acts of veneration through other bodily senses.

Although touch is referred to anecdotally in some of these studies, there has been no detailed appraisal of haptic interactions in English contexts. This is important because Crook (2011) has shown the architectural evolution of shrines in England took a slightly different trajectory than Continental examples. This affected how and under what conditions pilgrims could or could not see and/or touch the human remains within or beneath them. How different social classes might interact with the saintly dead also needs consideration, as does the role of the clergy in controlling and orchestrating public access to their saints.

Moreover, a wider appreciation is needed of the many architectural spaces, both subterranean and elevated, in which the 'ancient dead' could be encountered. Many subterranean sites in the early medieval landscape had histories of danger or confrontation with the angry dead, pagan deities, or the demonic, as well as overtones of Christian resurrection and triumphing over evil (Semple, 2013; Williams, 2015). Contextualising early medieval shrines within this broader landscape may elucidate tensions which structured haptic interactions between the public (local people, pilgrims, and visiting clergy) and the saints.

In contrast to the characterisation of the medieval church as a highly sensory domain, Aston (2015) has argued that the sensory environment of the post-Reformation church had been severely depleted through the loss of incense, holy water, shrines, genuflection, and the diminished role of polyphony and organ music. This is not entirely accurate, since the nature of

the sensory environment simply shifted rather than disappeared. For example, Walsham (2010) details how individuals were collecting pieces of clothing or burnt remains of relic English Protestant martyrs during the 16th century as a small-scale echo of Catholic relic veneration.

There is also the matter of iconoclasm and other forms of defacement which took place during the English Reformation and Puritan reforms in the 1640s-1650s (Tarlow, 2003; Spraggon, 2003; Graves, 2008). Until now this has been considered within a judicial context of corporeal punishment against effigies (Graves, 2008) and Reformation iconoclasm enacted by the clergy at the State's behest has been discussed in terms of local resistance strategies amongst parishioners (Duffy, 202; 2012; Tarlow, 2003). Yet many of the Puritan iconoclasts were disgruntled local townsmen, city fathers, and Parliamentary soldiers (Spraggon, 2003, 107, 113, 179-80, 209) and their violent, aggressive encounters with effigies and looting of graves was also a sensory experience of the dead, just not a venerative one. The same is apparent in early modern graffitists who used tombs to inscribe their visits to churches (Dekker, 1609, 39-47).

Private tomb openings conducted inside cathedrals during the 18th and 19th centuries were also sensory affairs in which the properties of the dead body and its artefacts were appraised not only through sight but also smell, sound, and various haptic modes of feeling the weight, smoothness, temperature, pressure, and texture of human remains and grave accoutrements (e.g. Ayloffe, 1786; Green, 1797; Lysons & Lysons, 1810, 448; Storer, 1814, 403). These were usually restricted to just the clergy, invited scholars, and the workmen and the body was reburied afterwards, so it was not permanently curated or displayed above-ground. However, at St Albans Cathedral, the 'pickle' or liquid found inside the coffin of Duke Humphrey (d1447) in the 18th

century became a popular appetite suppressant until the supply was exhausted by visitors and his purloined bones had to be retrieved by the parish clerk in 1746 (Wright 1897, 105; Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200). This may not be the liturgical sensory environment of the pre-Reformation church which Aston (2003) envisaged, but it was a sensory environment nonetheless.

By the 19th century there were public displays of exhumed skulls and bones cleared from the churchyard at Ripon cathedral and at several other parish churches around England, where the skulls were passed around for handling by the sexton or verger (Buckland, 1882, 174-92). As will be demonstrated, there is also a degree of haptic erosion and staining on many extant tombs, particularly effigy tombs, created by repetitions of touch by numerous visitors. Even today, visitors to churches and cathedrals can be seen touching and stoking monuments or leaving physical objects at certain tombs, such as flowers, cards, photographs, and prayer requests. From this perspective, the Reformation did not bring about an end to physical interaction with human remains inside churches and cathedrals. Rather different emphases on the form of physical interaction have evolved over the *longue durée* of each church and cathedral's history.

English Cathedrals

Despite their great research potential, English cathedrals have been overlooked from this and other perspectives. This is understandable given the long history of later disturbances which have obliterated physical evidence for many of their dead (e.g. Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005; Cherryson, Crossland & Tarlow, 2012) and their monuments (e.g. Lindley, 2007). However, documentary and pictorial sources of saints' shrines, iconoclasm, graffiti culture, and visitor experiences from

a range of periods, present rich avenues of research. These have already been harnessed for reconstructing shrines and the evolution of English saints' cults (e.g. Nilson, 1998; 1999; Tatton-Brown, 2002; Crook, 2011) or for biographies of specific monuments and their associated families or offices (e.g. Crossley, 1921; B. Cherry, 1991; Dodson, 2004; Lindley, 2004; the journal *Church Monuments* is dedicated to this topic).

Archaeological and documentary evidence of the dead has also been collated as part of grand historical narratives specific to the individual cathedral (e.g. Orme, 1991; Niblett & Thompson, 2005; Ramsay & Sparks, 1995). For example, modern excavations of cathedral interiors at Canterbury (Blockley, Sparks & Tatton-Brown, 1997), Chester (Ward, 2000), and St Albans (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 1980) have repeatedly uncovered numerous empty graves, damaged or pre-opened tombs and sarcophagi, and clearance pits of displaced bones. In these examples, unidentifiable bones stored in the building, clearance pits of disturbed bones, and defaced or displaced monuments are, as Aspöck & Klevnäs (2011/2012, 66) describe it, corrupt data. Where the research agenda has been to reconstruct the cathedral's origins and history, burial and monument disturbance becomes an annoyance rather than an opportunity. To overcome this, we must view disturbance and curation of the cathedral dead as a long-standing, variable practice in its own right, encapsulating centuries of cultural tensions, privileges and discoveries, not merely 'corrupt data'. Physical interactions with the post-burial dead become the focus, in all its period-specific *and* historically transcendent forms.

Also noticeable is a distinct glorification of individual English cathedrals in the titles of recent monographs. Examples include Swanton's (1991) *Exeter cathedral: a celebration;* Field's

(2007) *Durham cathedral: light of the north;* Tatton-Brown and Crook's (2009) *Salisbury cathedral: the making of a Medieval masterpiece;* and Foyle's (2015) *Lincoln Cathedral: the biography of a great building.* Despite great academic concern for identifying parallels between English cathedrals, they are often presented as uniquely special. In these cases, the cathedral is sketched as contributing an exclusive chapter to English history and is rarely, if ever, written about in critical terms.

Physical interaction with the cathedral dead was, and still is, an important cultural mortuary practice. It has its own range of tensions and responses. These mould, and are moulded by, each generation's religious and corporeal priorities; available resources; and the limitations of their inherited mortuaryscape. An alternative investigative and conceptual approach for dealing with unquantifiable losses, relocations, and damage is necessary.

Long dureé investigations of past societies and their practices have been a cornerstone of the archaeological agenda. The fragmentation, disturbance, and curation of the Christian dead and their monuments are ripe for such an investigation. To do this requires a site where the dead have been receiving these forms of physical interaction since the early medieval period up to the present day. English cathedral interiors present just such a site. Although not all cathedrals have (early) medieval origins (e.g. Liverpool's Anglican and Catholic cathedrals are respectively late-19th and mid-20th century builds), and many current cathedrals began as parish or monastic churches (see Pevsner & Metcalf 1985a & b), these buildings present prime yet neglected archaeological and documentary evidence. Their endurance as physical buildings over the

centuries (albeit remodelled and rebuilt) means the dead housed within them have been inherited and managed by numerous generations.

Different emphases of Christian thought and practice centred on the dead have emerged and receded over the centuries, as have political regimes and social priorities. Each generation of clergy has had to make decisions affecting both the 'ancient' and recent dead. Violent weather, civil unrest, invading forces, accidental damage, shifting religious doctrines, changing laws, and building campaigns have all contributed to mortuary disturbances and responses. Moreover, generations of parishioners, pilgrims and visitors have physically impacted the condition of the dead and their monuments.

Touch as a Method of Enquiry

A Haptic Approach to the Dead and their Monuments

Physical interactions with the dead before and during the funeral are well-documented. The handling of the body for burial, and associated funerary rites in England, has a strong concentration of studies from multiple periods (e.g. Gittings, 1984; Litten, 1991; Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005; Williams, 2006; Sayer & Williams, 2009; Cherryson, Crossland & Tarlow, 2012), as do conceptualisations of their physical mortuary places and spaces (e.g. Harding, 1989; 1992; Finch, 1991; 2000; Graves, 2000; Roffey, 2007; 2011; Sayer, 2011b).

A recent trajectory has examined the emotive and psychological effects of corpse management (e.g. Tarlow, 1999a & b; 2012; Williams, 2003; 2004; 2007a & b; Nugent, 2011), including a study of the haptic nature of funerary art (Nugent & Williams, 2012). Although tactile

interactions with the dead have not always been explicitly foregrounded in the current research compendium, these studies have generated a sense of the physical, tangible nature of mortuary practice. There has also been a spate of studies regarding sensorial regimes created and experienced by mourners during funerals (e.g. Williams, 2004; Graham, 2011; Hamilakis, 2013, 129-90). An investigation into the sensory role of touch in post-mortem practices would be a timely contribution to current archaeological research.

Studies of haptic cultures have been the domain of social historians and anthropologists, with little engagement with archaeological evidence or by archaeologists themselves. Yet seminal studies by social historians of distinctly British/English haptic cultures by Classen (1998; 2005; 2007; 2012) and Harvey (2003); a sociological-psychological treatise by Field (2001); an anthropologically-inflected volume by Howes (2004); museum-based approaches in Pye (2007); and art-historical concerns in modern-day institutions in Dent (2014) and have earnestly called attention to the importance of appraising the taboos, proprieties, and anxieties governing (and governed by) touch. Approaching physical interactions with the remains and monuments of the cathedral dead requires contextualising them within prevalent haptic practices. Therefore, rather than privileging the religious, political, scientific, judicial, medical or even intellectual climates surrounding treatment of the dead, this study seeks to trace how haptic culture was informed by and responded to these climates. This thesis also aims to contextualise cycles of disturbance and defacement within evolving haptic practices, and as evidence of mortuary haptic culture in their own right.

Archaeology is fuelled by physical evidence, and haptic interactions are capable of producing exactly this kind of evidence. Traces of haptic encounters are sometimes still visible today, and some long since obliterated. Some may yet be revealed. The evidence of haptic interactions with the dead surveyed for this study, however, is fresh, diverse and compelling. While it may have been recognised for centuries, it has either been unrecorded or overlooked in academic scholarship. Such evidence includes the haptic erosion of bones and monuments; graffiti on mortuary monuments; and theft and tokenism of corporeal and monumental fragments. Other evidence is ripe for reanimation in a new research trajectory by focussing on familiar evidence of the saint's cults and iconoclasm from a haptic perspective. This study thus seeks to reinvigorate familiar evidence by synthesising it with hitherto overlooked evidence. It then contextualises this evidential hybrid within a wider discussion of corporeal and monumental curation, and the role of touch.

Rather than focussing purely on the corporeal boundaries of the cadaver becoming disintegrated and re-assembled in cremation rites (e.g. Williams, 2003; Nugent, 2011) or fragmented and circulated after primary burial (e.g. Chapman, 2000; Thomas, 2000; Fowler, 2003; 2004; 2008), this study attempts to address the interface between the boundaries of the living body and post-burial dead. Touch is the vehicle which makes that physical connection between the boundaries and surfaces of the living body and those of the post-burial dead possible. It shifts the emphasis from the conceptual to the actual. There is the immediate interface of living flesh touching (for example) dry bone. The microboundaries of the tombs, effigies, shrines, reliquaries, textiles, coffins, and glass cabinets (etc.) encasing the dead also segregated or facilitated touch between living and dead. We must also consider microboundaries such as screens, locked doors and lids,

railings, elevation, weight, and custodians; as well as the conceptual barriers of beliefs, ethics, taboos, permission, desire/disgust, etiquette and propriety. By considering both conceptual and physical barriers, a haptic approach is capable of subsuming more familiar territory of belief and ethics within an exploration of bodily interaction, convergence, and access between the living and curated dead.

Haptic Studies

Touch has been revived as a method of enquiry in the humanities, in psychology (Katz, 1989); literary philosophy (Josipovici, 1996); social anthropology (Paterson, 2007); and for researchers working with (damaged) medieval manuscripts (e.g. Borland, 2013; Wilcox, 2013). There is a recent return to haptic engagements with archaeological collections in the 21st century museum. For example, Paine (2013) has focussed on a particular category of artefact – religious objects in museums contexts – and the on-going public perception of, and engagement with, these 'living' things from a range of religious traditions. While sensory connection with religious items is a clear theme in Paine's work, it is immersed within his broader consideration of veneration practices involving dislocated items. Since it does not touch on religious monuments still in their original context (or at least in a relevant religious context), mortuary monuments, bodies, and relics inside cathedrals are not within his remit. However, Paine reveals the importance of physical context for religious artefacts and how haptic access affects their veneration or neglect. Therefore, the present study is also a consideration of how displaced human remains and disconnected burials and monuments were still involved in haptic practices generated by the cathedral and religious beliefs.

Edited volumes dedicated to sensory-based explorations of past and present societies are notable for their interdisciplinarity. Historians, art historians, anthropologists, cultural geographers, museologists, and the broader faculties of social sciences are common contributors to collections of studies on the human senses. Archaeologists are noticeably absent.

This is not because archaeologists are unaware of these interdisciplinary compilations. Chris Tilley is quoted on the back cover of Howes' edited volume *Empire of the Senses* (2005) and Chris Gosden is thanked in the editorial acknowledgements. Pye (2007) presents the most archaeologically orientated in the recent spate of 21st century contributions, but has only one (short) chapter attempting to understand the role of touch in a past society: Mark Gellar (2007) on Babylonian healing magic. The remainder of the volume focuses on theoretical implications of touch, particularly in contemporary conservation of archaeological collections and museum practice. Although the conference from which this volume derived (hosted by the Institute of Archaeology at University College London in December 2004), was entitled 'Magic Touch', suggesting a range of past societies with potential as contributors, the underlying aim for conference and book was to; "encourage discussion and re-evaluation of the use of touch in museums and other heritage contexts" (Pye, 2007, 11). In other words, the emphasis was on contemporary strategies rather than the role of touch in past societies.

Although the bodies and monuments of the dead are not the (sole) focus of hapticity in modern museums, the way they have been literally handled has certainly played a role in past understandings of cathedral 'ancientness'. A study re-engaging with hapticity in the past and

present cathedral would not only reinvigorate our understanding of mortuary touch but reconnect archaeology with its antiquarian origins of touch as an important method of interpreting the past.

Haptic practices enacted on the cathedral dead are observable and documented. These include iconoclasm and graffiti of monuments; the ransacking of graves; tomb and shrine openings; excavations and exhumations; the creation of charnel collections; ritual kissing, touching, holding, and even imbibing of human remains and various items of mortuary material culture; and the deliberate breakage and haptic erosion or staining of bones and monuments. They could be actioned by bare or gloved hands; the lips; and indirectly through hand-held tools or weapons. Various measures have been installed in cathedrals to orchestrate how the remains of the dead and their monuments may or may not be exposed to touch.

This in turn hints at how different types of touch were perceived and enacted on bodies, burials, and monuments over time. Touch could be corporate or individualised. It runs across the transgressive-normative spectrum. It could be violent, pragmatic, curious, venerative, repentant, forensic, mnemonic, privileged, symbolic, routine, private and public. This is by no means exhaustive, but merely suggestive of the overwhelming potential of a haptic-centred investigation of mortuary practice.

A haptic approach also has the potential to dissolve the mind/body dualism of abstract, cultured, intangible thought versus the empirical, (pre-)natural, tangible body by exploring the recursive relationship between action and understanding, touch and interpretation. Thus the role of touch in (re-)narrating the absent person or past is an obvious avenue of enquiry for this study.

Overview of Thesis

To begin investigating this requires a generous synthesis of archaeological material and documentary sources to fully appraise the many manifestations and perceptions of mortuary touch. It also necessitates a careful consideration of the period-specific nature of haptic culture. Touch and its taboos vary over time, space, and within social hierarchies (e.g. Rodaway, 1994). Who can touch what, in what capacity, and for what purpose can vary hugely between ages, genders, ethnicities, religious identities, and both collective and personal ideologies and preferences. Various emotional states of the group or individual may also impact haptic interactions, particularly interpersonal displays of affection or aggression for example. The way the living physically engages with the dead may also be stimulated by or express emotional conditions of the moment.

The heterogeneous nature of haptic culture is further complicated when exploring the various identities of the living and their different attitudes towards the disparate identities, bodies, burials, and monuments of the dead. To therefore begin illuminating aspects of mortuary touch requires contextualising the evidence within broader themes of identity, emotion, and social and/or religious taboos or anxieties concerning what can and cannot be touched, by whom, and under what circumstances. It must navigate between the macroscale of the English cathedral's history and site- and period-specific practices and perceptions.

The highly individual nature of English cathedrals, despite their common usage as the bishop's seat, has no doubt encouraged the study of them in relative isolation; as unique reference points in the narrative of England's history and, at a regional scale, reflections of local religious,

political and social developments. Motives underlining the treatment of graves, bodies, crypts, and monuments in cathedrals are particularly complex. The many permutations of their creation, alteration and destruction were fuelled by period-specific events and concerns: theological and secular, political and social. This has left both isolated examples and cohorts of monuments surviving from particular periods in different states of (dis)repair. Examples discussed in this thesis include those affected by unique circumstances, as well as more common or nationwide events.

The documentary record is as equally tantalising and frustrating as the surviving material evidence. State-enforced recording of new burials only became mandatory in the later 16th century and largely abandoned after the 1850s when intramural burial was banned (see Gibbens, 1994). Funeral certificates were only issued for the elite few and, like burial registers, provided little more than name, nearest kin (especially for females and children), and date of death or funeral (e.g. Rylands, 1882). Burial location within these cathedrals or their associated monuments has not been systematically recorded.

Many documents have also been lost because of cathedral damage. Thus antiquarian observations of the 16th and 17th centuries provide crucial glimpses of cathedral mortuaryscapes in between periods of great loss and upheaval. Relic inventories, eyewitness accounts, formal Visitations, pilgrim/ tourist experiences, guidebooks, and excavation reports flesh out our knowledge of monumental and corporeal curation of the saints, clergy and lay folk. It may be impossible to tally the monuments and burials that have been and gone over the course of a

cathedral lifecourse thus far, but the perceptions and actions of those encountering the dead are still traceable in their words, their images, and the damage and repairs enacted.

As this study is focussed on extant and documented mortuaryscapes, the intellectual and ecclesiastical histories of each cathedral are not the primary consideration here. Equally, the details of the lives of individuals buried or commemorated are not referred to, unless directly significant to the subsequent treatment of their remains or monument. It does not aim to make like-for-like comparisons of art or architecture within the cathedrals, and therefore is not anchored to strict periodisation or the need to create links between cathedrals based on these elements of study. Indeed, the five cathedrals under discussion present a prime group because they have such a variety of both similarities and differences.

They have not been selected because they are all symptomatic of a particular regional preference for churches and cathedrals in terms of design, patronage or religious origins. No single cathedral is prioritised, although some cathedrals provide richer evidence of certain practices than others. Nor have they been chosen because of their architectural similarities or because they derive from the same religious foundations and houses. What this disparate group of five cathedrals allows is a wide-ranging study of the diversity and variability of approaches to death, burial, bodies and exhumation in a variety of English cathedrals and how such approaches could mirror or diverge from other cathedrals and regions.

Subsequently, this approach is necessarily selective and suggestive, given the vast range of archaeological and documentary material available per cathedral. Yet it provides a deeper examination of haptic practices within their respective societies. There are, however, overarching

themes linking these three studies together: how the identity of the living impacted their ability to access human remains and monuments; and how touch stimulated or mediated perceptions of, and emotional responses to, the dead.

Such a study requires a generous synthesis of archaeological and documentary evidence. As will become apparent, the accuracy and veracity of some of the documented accounts is debatable. There is often a lack of surviving evidence, and no alternative accounts to clarify or contest the source. Nonetheless, regardless of whether historic reports are real, exaggerated or imagined interactions with the dead, they act as cultural barometers. As contemporary accounts, they provide useful clues to historic norms for (un)acceptable handling of the dead and monuments. While documentary sources for cathedrals provide a rich, if sometimes familiar, layer of evidence, haptic interactions with the dead has also left physical traces which have yet to be examined or synthesised with the accompanying textual record.

Thesis Aims and Structure

The Five Cathedrals

A multi-evidential approach is clearly required, combining surviving archaeological evidence of post-burial handling of the dead from above and below ground; accompanying documentary sources; and the wider historical context for such practices. Five cathedrals have been selected for this purpose: Canterbury (Kent); Chester (Cheshire); Exeter (Devonshire); Ripon (North Yorkshire); and St Albans (Hertfordshire).

Because of the heterogeneity of cathedral interiors and their histories, any of England's extant 43 Anglican cathedrals could have been chosen for this study. But due to the scope and nature of this investigation, these five were purposefully selected for a range of reasons. First, they represent a geographical spread of England: Chester in the north-west; Ripon in the north-east; Exeter in the south-west, Canterbury in the south-east, and St Albans in the south. Each cathedral's floor plan, available sources, scholarship, and key periods of change affecting the survival of the mortuaryscape have been compiled in a Cathedral Gazetteer in Appendix 1. The Gazetteer highlights the mix of scholarship these cathedrals provide. Some have received persistent academic attention for centuries (Canterbury in particular) and others have been relatively overlooked, especially Chester and Ripon. Their post-Reformation incarnations are also often overlooked or dealt with in reference to the shift to Protestantism in the 16th-18th centures or their 19th-century restorations. Thus a truly *longue durée* approach would enhance our understanding of their mortuaryscapes beyond doctrinal watersheds or architectural campaigns.

Third, they represent a variety of origins as religious foundations: Canterbury and Exeter have always been cathedrals. Chester and St Albans were Benedictine monasteries for most of their pre-Reformation incarnation, and Ripon was a minster church with a monastery attached to it (see Appendix 1). Fourth, a range of saints' cults are represented at these cathedrals: St Werburgh at Chester; St Alban and St Amphibalus at St Albans; St Wilfrid at Ripon; and St Thomas Becket and a host of accompanying Anglo-Saxon saints at Canterbury (Appendix 1). Fragments of the shrines at Chester and St Albans have been reconstructed. There are also many documentary and pictorial sources for St Thomas' shrine (e.g. Blick, 2005). Since very few

English Pre-Reformation shrines still survive in any form (Nilson, 1998, 9), these are rare opportunities to consider how shrines and saints' remains were physically handled.

Fifth, pertinent post-Reformation evidence is well represented at these cathedrals. Canterbury and Exeter have contemporary accounts and excavated evidence of 17th century iconoclasm as well as a broad sample of surviving mutilated monuments (Appendix 1). Chester and Ripon also have extant monuments with iconoclastic damage to supplement the sample. There is also a range of graffitied monuments at these same cathedrals. Ripon's Norman crypt was used as a 'bone-house' display in the 19th century, providing material for examining displaced bones (Buckland, 1882, 174-5). In summary, it is not so much their (modern) status as a cathedral which is relevant to their selection, as the range and type of evidence they provide for study.

Using evidence from these cathedrals, three key themes are addressed:

The Pre-Reformation Mortuaryscape

- How mortuary touch was orchestrated inside early medieval subterranean shrines and in proximity to later elevated shrines. The relationship between the clergy and visitors is explored through the Church's increasing control of bodily interaction with saints and shrines. Particular attention is paid to suggested degrees of anxiety with seeing the naked bones of the saints and how this was mediated by offering alternative haptic encounters.

The Early Modern Mortuaryscape

- The violent and violating touch of male iconoclasts in the 16th and 17th centuries, and accompanying, theft, grave-robbing, and deliberate breakage of tombs. Contemporary

examples of graffiti on monuments are examined as partly contributing to iconoclasm, while also serving other (gendered) social practices. While State-sanctioned iconoclasm was a series of relatively short eras within cathedral histories, it has had a lasting impact on the mortuaryscape. A detailed analysis of iconoclastic evidence from the five cathedrals is examined in relation to the gender and status of the effigies, and the period in which they were affected by Reformation and/or Puritan iconoclasm. It focuses on the connection between forms of touch and public expressions of masculinity in early modern England during this period.

The Late Modern and Modern Mortuaryscape

- How physical interaction was invoked when burials became disconnected from monuments, particularly in 18th and 19th-century contexts. This includes displaced human remains in public charnel displays and relic cupboards; strategies for overcoming the spatial distance between wall memorials and burials; and an analysis of the haptic erosion of effigy tombs. The role of touch in contemporary 18th and 19th century British museums provides a rich parallel illuminating how gender and class of visitors impacted degrees of interaction with public collections and monuments in this period.

These three chapters are prefaced with an appraisal of mortuary archaeology within cathedral scholarship (Chapter 2) and a deeper exploration of haptic studies as both a method and theory within and beyond archaeology (Chapter 3).

Methodology: Overview

Large-scale surveys of medieval (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005) and post-medieval burials (Cherryson, Crossland & Tarlow, 2012) have already shown a way forward when dealing with large and evolving mortuaryscapes. Such studies have synthesised excavation and documented evidence to identify burial trends over time, and then situated these trends within their social and religious context through thematic discussions and detailed case studies. In doing so, both long-term patterns of change and continuity are explored alongside site-specific practices. Yet this approach also facilitates a wider appraisal of mortuaryscapes as an assemblage as well as a series of individual sites. Therefore, attitudes towards the dead which may be specific to Britain or regions within Britain are revealed.

Another source of inspiration is the vast chronology of European body-centred practices covered in Robb and Harris' (2013) volume, spanning 50,000 years, structured around specific moments of transition and change. These are considered in rich, multi-scalar case studies presented in chronological order. It is not comprehensive nor does it intend to be; rather Robb and Harris (2013) harness familiar and unfamiliar examples of period-specific corporeal practices and perceptions to illuminate a spectrum of bodily histories with both discrete and overlapping themes.

This thesis takes a similar, though not identical, approach to the large-scale surveys and the structure of Harris and Robb's volume (2013). It also seeks to identify key trends in mortuary haptic culture as evidenced within a sample of five English cathedrals. While the scope of this thesis will not permit such an exhaustive appraisal of the cathedral dead, it is hoped that trends in mortuary haptic culture are illuminated through three detailed studies of specific periods using

evidence from all the cathedrals. Not every cathedral contributes comparable or relevant evidence for each study, which is to be expected given the diversity of their respective histories, documentary sources, and archaeological investigations. Therefore, considering them as an assemblage of sites with rich subsets of evidence for different aspects of touch provides a useful methodology. This approach may reveal epochs of haptic culture specific to England, and the social and religious values and identities which structured, and were structured by this. Yet it is hoped that recurring themes such as identity, anxiety, and emotion will bring coherence to the broad chronology of evidence which is examined.

However, unlike these evidence-rich studies of excavated burials, tracing the evolution of intramural mortuaryscapes inside churches is extremely difficult for any individual site and these five cathedrals are no exception. Individual entries in the Cathedral Gazetteer (Appendix 1) demonstrate the physical loss of monuments, burials, and archives through fire and rebuilding at each of the cathedrals. It has long been acknowledged that the documentary record accompanying churches and cathedrals is partial, highly selective, and does not always align with the architectural evidence (Rodwell, 2005, 37, 57). Inventories created by commissioners during the Dissolution recorded what was present prior to dissolving the house between 1535 and 1550 but provide no coverage of burials or monuments, as they were not expected to be sold (Rodwell, 2005, 54). The only exception might be surviving brasses which had not already been privately sold or stolen.

Burial registers formally began in 1538, although there was a hiatus under Queen Mary I and many registers were lost or not updated during the English Civil War and Commonwealth [1642-1660] (Gibbens, 1999; 1994). Neither the burial location nor monument was ever required in

registers, so they provide no information regarding the mortuaryscape. When intramural burials were banned in the Burial Acts of the 1850s (Burial Act 1852; 1853) registers became defunct. Similarly, 17th-century funeral certificates issued by the local council for wealthy citizens, to secure the inheritance of coats-of-arms, rarely publish the location of the burials or the type of monument erected [if any] (e.g. Rylands, 1882 for Chester). Wills have been used to trace burials of elite families, as exemplified by Harding's (2002) pivotal assessment of early modern church burials in London and Paris. However, these are limited resources for exploring the whole population of a given cathedral, where only a select group produced wills, and wills only provide the location *requested* (if at all) not the location given. It also requires a very different trajectory and style of research beyond the scope and interest of this study.

Modern excavations of cathedral interiors at Canterbury (Blockley et al., 1997), Chester (Ward, 2000), and St Albans (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 1980) have also repeatedly uncovered numerous empty graves, damaged or pre-opened tombs and sarcophagi, and clearance pits of displaced bones. In these examples, unidentifiable bones stored in the building, clearance pits of disturbed bones, and defaced or displaced monuments are treated as 'corrupt data' (Aspöck & Klevnäs, 2011/2012, 66). Burials may lack their markers (if they ever had one) and monuments may mark emptied graves or the wrong occupants.

In the face of such overwhelming losses and discrepancies, reconstructing burial demographics or attempting to marry burial records with physical evidence could easily become a fool's errand. Tallying named and unnamed bones, burials, and monuments from churches also provides little intellectual substance. For example, finding out a grave was dug for a 'Jane Smith' or some

displaced bones belonged to a 'John Cotton' means very little unless these identities have some significance in a wider historical narrative, such as a family genealogy or members of a cohort of clergy. Thus attempts to name the dead do not necessarily provide us with any more pertinent knowledge, unless the individual has existing importance for the researcher. An extreme example of existing importance would be the recent discovery of King Richard III's remains (e.g. Morris & Buckley, 2013). Such opportunities, however, are currently very rare and highly contentious. Instead, the difficult terrain of interior mortuaryscapes requires an innovative methodological and theoretical framework.

Therefore, rather than examining modes of burial and commemoration inside these cathedrals, this thesis explores the many ways in which the dead, above and below ground, were physically handled. Because of the wealth of contemporary sources available to inform on potential emotional and mental states of participants, and social and religious filters, this thesis situates the evidence within period-specific discourses rather than anthropological parallels. Evidence of haptic interactions with the cathedral dead is apparent on extant monuments in the form of staining, erosion, iconoclasm, graffiti, breakages, and deposits of modern-day votives and mementoes. Equally, scrutinising the documentary record for cathedrals may reveal various tangible interventions and haptic encounters with the mortuaryscape, which may illuminate the material evidence or report events which have not left physical traces on the extant monuments.

Synchronic and Diachronic Approach

Periodisation serves an important purpose for refining our understanding of key cultural trends within their social, religious, political, economic, and intellectual moments. However, the long dureé of corporeal management and physical interaction with the dead across these periods has yet to be attempted. To achieve this, a diachronic approach is employed to examine the theme of mortuary hapticity over time. However, this is applied to a series of discrete episodes within cathedral histories, discussed in chronological order. Examining haptic interactions with the cathedral dead at specific points in time allows a deeper exploration of the period-specific constructions of touch and identity influencing, and being influenced by, wider social structures and religious beliefs of the period. For example, such an approach has illuminated the competing ideologies and Christian beliefs surrounding the dissection and scientific investigation of the early modern corpse (Tarlow, 2011).

A synchronic approach is particularly relevant when dealing with Christianity in England over the *longue durée*, given its complex evolution of change and continuity in belief and practice, particularly in relation to the dead (e.g. Thompson, 2004; Gaimster & Gilchrist, 2003; Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005; Cherryson, 2007; Tarlow, 2011; Cherryson, Crossland & Tarlow, 2012). Contextualising particular moments within the long-term curation of the dead may highlight how contemporary concerns, beliefs, social practices and cultural constructs informed physical relationships with the dead. It is hoped that the nuances of Christianities and social identities in particular eras surrounding this relationship may be revealed.

Chapter-Specific Methodologies

Each cathedral was visited on multiple occasions, and with permission of the Dean and Chapter, and the help of relevant cathedral archaeologists, historians, archivists and vergers, the history of each cathedral's mortuaryscape was compiled and all accessible monuments were photographed using a high-resolution digital camera. There were occasional problems with restricted lighting, providing poorer conditions for photography. The reflective surfaces of polished brasses and certain stones also caused problems with flashback. Nonetheless, digital photography allowed the images to be processed afterwards by altering brightness, contrast, and adding filters, revealing things unseen by the naked eye. The photographs were catalogued for a forthcoming *Past in its Place* online repository, to be created and hosted by the University of Exeter.

Three separate data sets were then created from this photographic record (a) iconoclastic damage on extant monuments (b) haptic erosion on extant monuments; (c) all the extant monuments and the attributes of the individuals commemorated and the monument's location within the cathedral.

Chapter 4: Haptic Experiences of the Saints

No single methodology has been deemed sufficient for the extensive archaeological and documentary evidence investigated in this thesis, and the varied nature of both period-specific and recurring practices and themes. Rather, different methods have been tailored to the different emphases and available data for each period analysed. Haptic Experiences (Chapter 4) marshals together pictorial, descriptive, and surviving evidence of shrines at Ripon, Canterbury, St Albans, and Chester (Exeter did not have a canonised saint). While reconstructing their various

incarnations as shrines is important, the emphasis is on contextualising these specific shrines within contemporary accounts of perceptions and practices surrounding pre-Reformation encounters with saints in different spatial planes. This enables an exploration of the relationship between saints and cohorts of pilgrims differentiated by social class, and degrees of control and access to the saints exerted by the clergy.

Chapter 5: Haptic Interventions with the Dead

Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm was relatively short-lived but deeply impactful on the English intramural mortuaryscape. State-sanctioned iconoclasm of the dead occurred in a discrete window of time (1540s-1560s and 1640s-1650s). Thus Haptic Interactions (Chapter 5) cross-references an empirical analysis of iconoclastic damage with examples of extant historic graffiti, excavated evidence of grave-robbing, and contemporaneous reports of iconoclasm, graffiti, and theft centred on monuments. This links anecdotal and empirical, archaeological and documentary evidence. The focus is on the gendered identity of the male iconoclasts, particularly Parliamentary soldiers, expressed through violence, pain, and self-aggrandisement endemic to constructs of early modern masculinities. This approach allows iconoclasm and a wider spectrum of destructive interventions with the dead from a haptic perspective. Particular attention is paid to the cathedrals of Canterbury and Exeter which have the most surviving evidence of iconoclasm, and contemporary accounts of the damage.

Iconoclastic evidence for this study was limited to features which had been cut off and larger holes which may be evidence of gunshot (discussed in Chapter 5). Other potential signs of iconoclasm, such as whitewashing, were not obvious within this dataset. Care was taken to

distinguish, wherever possible, between items which may have fallen off (e.g. rusted metal components); accidental damage (e.g. chipped corners), and iconoclastic removal of tomb elements.

When attacking the mortuaryscape (as opposed to altars and windows), iconoclasts largely targeted effigial tombs and representational body parts (see Chapter 5; also Graves, 2008). This was evident at four of the five cathedrals (St Albans has no surviving pre-19th century effigial tombs and made no contribution to the iconoclasm dataset). Only two non-effigial extant monuments had evidence of iconoclasm: the three-figured wall memorial of Thomas Greene at Chester, and the multi-headed tomb of Archbishop Hubert at Canterbury.

Iconoclasm was readily identifiable by cut-marks from blades and tools which had hacked away body parts. Deliberate slash marks across facial features and the throat were also recorded, although these appeared as graffiti rather than bladed damage. The effigy tomb of Archbishop Chichele was heavily restored after iconoclastic attack(s), but the receipts for the work provided an idea of what had been damaged (Wilson, 1995, 478, 488). Canterbury's archival accounts published by Wilson (1995, 478, 488) also revealed that Archbishop Warham's tomb (still extant) had escaped damage because it was then inside a locked area of the cathedral, and was not, therefore, a restoration. Occasional evidence of repairs to iconoclastic damage were also useful indicators, such as new finger tips for Bishop Valentine's effigy at Exeter.

Chapter 6: Haptic Connections between the Displaced Dead

For the *Speaking with the Dead* project, a complex MS Access database was created to collate and analyse extant monuments from the five cathedrals. A simplified form of this MS Access databasehas been produced for this thesis for a quantitative analysis of late modern and modern-day monument trends (see Tables 1.1-1.2 and Appendix 2). This highlights the increasing number of monuments since the late 18th century which have been installed without, or away from, associated burials. At the same time, late 18th and 19th century wall memorials present strategies of connecting the monument with the spatially disconnected burials they commemorate. To explore this trend, Haptic Connections (Chapter 6) illuminates the empirical findings with additional anecdotal evidence and case-studies. It situates the quantitative survey of disconnected burials and monuments within contemporaneous case studies of displaced collections of human remains in the same cathedrals. Since these collections of human remains were accessible to the public, discourses on touching artefacts, monument, and human remains in early museums of the 18th and 19th centuries provide a useful parallel for cathedral evidence.

Table 1.1. Cathedral Monument Database Category Definitions	
Database Category	**Definition**
Cathedral	Cathedral hosting the monument
Primary Name	First name of the primary /first person commemorated
Primary Surname	Surname of the primary / first person commemorated
Number	Number of people commemorated (unknown recorded as '?'). Not used for statistical analysis but to record illegible or unclear epitaphs
Gender	Gender of the primary/first person commemorated
Century	Century monument was erected (if stated) or death date of first named
Year	Year monument was erected (if stated) or death date of first named
Type	Type of monument
Location	Location of monument within the cathedral
Office	Office of (primary) deceased where mentioned
Notes	Additional information
# memorialised	Minimum number of individuals commemorated (used for analysis)

Table 1.2. Database Monument Categories and Definitions		
Monument Type	**Total Recorded**	**Database Definition**
Altar	1	Altar commissioned as a memorial
Altar screen	1	Altar screen commissioned as a memorial
Aumbry	3	Aumbry (freestanding wooden case with glass-covered top). Aumbry itself is a memorial.
Aumbry + Book of Remembrance	3	Aumbry containing a Book of Remembrance (War Dead)
Aumbry + Roll of Honour	1	Aumbry containing a Roll of Honour (War Dead or Local Citizens)
Brass floor memorial	16	Brass floor memorial
Brass Plaque	81	Brass memorial plaque attached to a wall
Brass plaque [copper?]	2	Metal wall plaque which may be copper if not brass.
Brass plaque + alabaster sculpture	1	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting a memorial alabaster sculpture
Brass plaque + bust	1	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting a memorial bust
Brass plaque + Chapel renovated	1	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting a renovation of a chapel as in memoriam
Brass plaque + gate	1	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting installation of a memorial gate
Brass plaque + Restoration of a painting	1	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting the restoration of a painting in memoriam
Brass Plaque + window	5	Brass plaque attached to a wall signposting a memorial window
Bust	2	Free-standing bust of the deceased
Bust + architectural surround	1	Bust of the deceased as an element of larger monument

Table 1.2. Database Monument Categories and Definitions [continued]		
Monument Type	**Total Recorded**	**Database Definition**
Chest Tomb	14	Chest tomb. Free-standing. No effigy. Brass plaque or filet intact or other memorial survives.
Chest tomb missing brass	1	Chest tomb. Free-standing. No effigy. Memorial brass plaque or filet missing.
Chest tomb wall niche	3	Chest tomb installed in a dedicated wall niche. No effigy. Brass plaque or filet intact or other memorial survives.
Effigy Tomb	53	Recumbent effigy tomb representing the lived body of the deceased
Effigy tomb [cadaver]	2	Recumbent effigy tomb representing the cadaver of the deceased
Effigy tomb [seated]	1	Effigy tomb representing the lived body of the deceased seated
Effigy Tomb wall niche	2	Recumbent effigy tomb representing the lived body of the deceased installed in a dedicated wall niche.
Effigy Tomb? [missing effigy?]	2	Possibly once an effigy tomb.
Floor memorial	352	Memorials inserted into the floor. Includes memorials sometimes categorised as 'ledgers' or 'ledgerstones'
Floor memorial + brass	6	Original brass intact on the floor memorial
Floor memorial + matrix	1	Brass has gone but the matrix survives
Floor memorial + missing matrix	1	Brass and matrix have both disappeared
Framed document	2	Framed document

Table 1.2. Database Monument Categories and Definitions [continued]		
Monument Type	**Total Recorded**	**Database Definition**
Framed document + coat of arms of cloister vaulting	1	Framed document + coat of arms of cloister vaulting
Framed document + two silver lamps	1	Framed document + two silver lamps
Furniture	8	A piece of church furniture is the memorial
Furniture Plaque	1	Memorial is a plaque attached to a piece of furniture
Grave Slab	12	Recumbent monument covering the grave or cremains of individuals buried in the cloister garth
Mural	1	Wall mural commissioned as a memorial
Propeller	1	Aeroplane propeller as a memorial (on a wall)
Sarcophagus	4	Empty stone sarcophagus displayed above ground inside the cathedral
Spolia: wall memorial, sarcophagus, wall niche	1	Disparate memorial items placed together as spolia
Stone wall niche slab	2	Stone memorial slab inserted into a wall niche or into the surface of a stone bench inside a wall niche
Tomb chest [?]	1	Possible tomb chest
Wall memorial	594	Wall memorial of stone
Wall memorial [metal]	15	Wall memorial of metal
Wall memorial [perspex]	1	Wall memorial of Perspex
Wall memorial + bay restoration	1	Wall memorial signposting a bay restoration in memoriam
Wall memorial + bust	2	Wall memorial signposting a memorial bust
Wall memorial + chapel restoration	1	Wall memorial signposting a chapel restored in memoriam

Table 1.2. Database Monument Categories and Definitions [continued]		
Monument Type	**Total Recorded**	**Database Definition**
Wall memorial + flag in glass case	1	Wall memorial signposting a memorial flag in glass case
Wall memorial + Framed document	1	Wall memorial signposting a memorial framed document
Wall memorial + lost windows	1	Wall memorial signposting memorial windows which have been lost
Wall memorial + window	7	Wall memorial signposting a memorial window
Wall memorial + window + Refectory restoration	1	Wall memorial signposting a memorial window and a Refectory restored in memoriam
Wall memorial + windows	1	Wall memorial signposting a memorial window
Window	133	Memorial window. Does not signpost any other memorial items.

These case studies of displaced human remains are balanced against further case studies on individual wall memorials. These are supplemented with two shorter collections of evidence. Firstly: a survey of haptic erosion and staining of monuments from a variety of periods, which demonstrates the intensity and scope of handling mortuary monuments. Secondly: anecdotal evidence of modern-day interactions with tombs and reconstructed shrines in the form of votives, donations, and mementoes. Both haptic erosion of and modern day deposits at tombs emphasises the long-running importance of physical connections with the dead.

Discourses on touching artefacts, monument, and human remains were being negotiated in early museums of the 18th and 19th centuries. These discussions provide a useful parallel for examining

many contemporaneous examples of displaced collections of human remains in the cathedrals, which were also accessible to the public. At the same time, late 18th- and 19th-century wall memorials also present strategies of connecting the monument with the spatially disconnected burials they commemorate.

Two series of case studies are explored in Haptic Connections (Chapter 6): (a) displaced bones and (b) disconnected burials and wall memorials. Charnel collections at Ripon, St Albans, and a female corpse on display at Exeter are discussed while the wall memorials at Chester Cathedral provide a particularly rich, pertinent seam of evidence. This allows a deeper appreciation of the specific elements of unique collections of displaced bones and bodies, and the variable nature of wall memorial strategies of connection. However, an additional layer of empirical evidence supplements the case studies in the form of an empirical survey and analysis of late modern trends in commemoration using spatially disconnected monuments, and degrees of haptic erosion observed on extant monuments at the cathedrals.

The aim is not to establish a linear evolution of touch culture in English cathedrals, although there is potential to explore this in future studies. Rather, the emphasis is on repetitions of practice and the re-appearance of haptic tropes in new forms. From this perspective, continuity of practices and affordances is as important as points of transition and change.

Defining 'Haptic'

Successive haptic interactions with a particular object may stain or erode its surfaces. While this is usually a slow, incremental process, other haptic evidence may represent a single event. For

example, each individual site of defacement on an effigy represents a blow by an iconoclasts' weapon or tool, or a single inscribing event by a graffitist which occurred in seconds or minutes. Monuments and bodies may have missing pieces which were taken or broken off in an equally brief moment. Therefore, haptic *interactions* are not defined by the time it took for a physical trace to be left. Haptic *erosion* is the long-term attrition of an object through touch.

Haptic erosion was identified more cautiously, especially as there is no existing, explicit methodology for this. Different stones types and ornamentation betrayed haptic erosion in different ways, such as discolouration of the stone (usually brown staining on white stones and black patina on metal effigies) which was not natural or part of the decorative schema or repair work; a high polish (especially alabaster, marble and granite), and/or soft erosion of specific features (e.g. noses) or areas (e.g. tomb edges). All of these were used as indicators of repeated touch, although not all needed to be present in combination. Other factors which could explain this type damage, such as interior leaks, were eliminated, and these monuments have not been subjected to weathering.

Wall memorials were generally exempt from haptic erosion as they had been installed out-of-reach in elevated positions, although there is always the possibility that high gallery-style seating may have afforded access. There was no definitive evidence of this, however, in the dataset. Late 19th century floor-based heaters (there are surviving examples at Chester cathedral) could emit fumes and cause blackening to anything overhead, including wall memorials, but did not seem to impact monuments on the floor.

Evidence of haptic erosion of effigy monuments was recorded as a separate dataset (Appendix 4). Effigies were selected for analysis in Chapter 6 to determine whether certain body parts received more or less repeated touch. Evidence of haptic erosion was recorded in ArcGIS from the photographic record created for this study. Each example of haptic erosion was given a score of 1 (slight/vague) to 4 (definite and dense). This scale is outlined in detail in Tables 1.3 and 1.4 below and the codes used to create the heat map are in the Key in Appendix 4. The wear value was identified in relation to the rest of the monument, preferably against a 'clean' area which had no other major wear or damage. This meant haptic erosion was identified in comparison with the state of the rest of the monument, since different monuments manifested different types and densities of damage.

Table 1.3. Haptic Erosion Heat Map Definitions	
Cathedral	Cathedral hosting the monument
Monument ID	Created for the haptic erosion dataset and not comparable with the monument database
First Named	Name of effigy or first named if multiple effigies on same tomb
Location	Location of monument within cathedral
Part Touched	Body part or area with haptic erosion
Location on Tomb	Location on the tomb of the body part / area with haptic erosion. Recorded as N (north) S (south) E (east) W (west) C (central)
Wear Value	Recorded on a scale of 1-4 (see Table 1.4 below).

Table 1.4. Haptic Erosion Wear Value Definitions	
Wear Value	**Definition**
1	Potential wear: evidence is vague but probably haptic erosion
2	Minor wear: slight but definite haptic erosion; initial stages of wear e.g. light staining, area smoother or shinier
3	Moderate wear: noticeable long-term erosion e.g. paint worn away; metal patinated or starting to rust; stone edges not crisp; dense staining
4	Major wear: severe cases of haptic erosion causing significant alteration e.g. features merging or dissolving; severe patination or flaking; areas of previous damage or deep-cut graffiti heavily worn; considerable loss of definition

Identifying and Recording Monuments

A comprehensive photographic catalogue of extant monuments was compiled for this thesis, combined with extensive archival research. Evidence of physical interventions has been gleaned from the photographs and synthesised with numerous and varied documentary accounts of exhumation, defacement, destruction, relocation, display, and repair. Although surviving monuments may not be detailed in the cathedral archives, and registered burials may not be traceable on the ground, the disconnect between these two sources is not important. This is because the archaeological and textual material does not need to match; both are capable of informing on the evolution of cathedral mortuaryscapes from different perspectives. Thus the material and textual gap is bridged by synthesising these perspectives, rather than trying to marry archaeology with text on every occasion.

Identifying and Recording Damage

Graffiti may be inscribed directly upon a tomb or memorial and also in the architectural space surrounding it (see examples in Pritchard, 1967). Subsequently, the presence of graffiti may indicate the absence of a monument. As an act of defacement, graffiti is also evidence of direct engagement with the physical representation of the dead, albeit still a very poorly understood and under-theorised action in archaeological literature. Similarly, the presence of blade marks, secondary tooling marks, or attempts at repairs, are all physical traces of shifts in conceptualising the cathedral dead. While blades, tools and repairs indicate relatively quick events enacted upon certain memorials, long-term connections with the dead can be seen in the slow attrition of particular monument's surfaces, which have been repeatedly touched, kissed or stroked by generations of visitors.

None of the cathedrals studied had existing surveys of monument iconoclasm, graffiti, or other forms of damage. This study provides a pilot catalogue for each cathedral. It is also the first to focus on comprehensively photographing all forms of iconoclasm, not simply iconoclasm on specific *célèbre* tombs. Haptic erosion and token breakage were also surveyed for the first time. Photographing historic graffiti, however, has become a recent trend generated by *The Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey* (NMGS). Spearheaded by Matthew Champion, the NMGS has been a community project identifying and recording graffiti in churches since 2010 (Champion, 2012). Their aim is to produce a county-wide catalogue of pre-reformation graffiti registered with both the church authorities and the Historic Environment Record (HER). The project is also committed to disseminating findings through both academic and populist channels. This highlights just how much surviving graffiti is available for study, as well as the limitations of a purely volunteer-led project conducted in people's free time.

It would be easy to remark on the NMGS 'cherry-picking' of medieval evidence from amongst the post-Reformation graffiti (which is also substantial in quantity) and the localised nature of the project. However, the NMGS project also emphasises how the archaeological contribution to church and cathedral studies need not be invasive. Nor have these buildings been exhaustively studied, even during their medieval phases which have received the brunt of scholarship thus far. None of the five cathedrals in this study are currently within the remit of the NMGS, and post-medieval graffiti has been included. Moreover, this study stands apart in surveying graffiti on mortuary monuments, rather than church fabric. While the NMGS and its off-shoots seek to de-code the symbolism and meanings of graffito types, this study explores graffiti as a touch-based phenomenon within a spectrum of defacement which includes iconoclasm, token breakage, and haptic erosion.

Understandably, the haptic framework of this study cannot be fully appreciated from a purely visual presentation of the monuments. But in lieu of offering the physical properties of the monuments and human remains for examination, photographs offer pauses in the text to envision the traces left by human touch, which hint at the textures, temperatures, and pressures experienced by earlier hands. The photographs provide both evocative cues and subtle reminders of the limitations of pure visual culture.

Conclusion

To begin this investigation, we first turn to the history of archaeological scholarship for churches, church burials, and church monuments (Chapter 2) to explore fissures between these areas of research, and the potential for this thesis to overcome such gaps. This is followed by an exploration of haptic-centred approaches to past societies, within and beyond archaeology which have informed the methodology, aims, and scope of this thesis (Chapter

3). Three discussion chapters explore haptic interactions with the dead within discrete episodes of cathedral histories: haptic experiences of pre-Reformation saints (Chapter 4); early modern haptic interventions involving iconoclasm, theft, breakage, and graffiti (Chapter 5); and haptic connections with displaced human remains and disconnected burials and monuments in the (late)modern cathedral (Chapter 6).

This approach contextualises haptic post-mortem engagements with the cathedral dead within contemporary discourses, constructs, ideologies, beliefs, and practices circulating in England during that period. Since British/English notions of early modern and modern touch have already been identified and contrasted with other norms of haptic practice in Continental contexts (e.g. Rodaway, 1994; Classen, 1998; 2005; 2012; Candlin, 2010), it would be unwise to assume a homogeneous, pan-European culture of touch for any period. Therefore, a wider European context is not only beyond the scope of this thesis but risks occluding aspects of belief and practice specific to British and/or English haptic mortuary cultures.

The overall aim of this thesis can be summarised in the words of Krmpotich et al. (2010, 371) "...what it is about human bones and bone that provokes emotional, political, visceral and intellectual responses from those who encounter them". How this was understood, enacted, mediated, and incorporated monuments in English cathedrals provides the arena for a broad chronological study of haptic mortuary practice. The cathedral dead present a prime opportunity to study physical interactions between the living and the dead because of their enduring guardianship of those buried and commemorated inside their walls. Evidence of handling the dead in pragmatic, venerative, and violent ways have appeared and re-appeared over the lifespan of cathedrals, and thus a long-term perspective may illuminate mechanisms of both stasis and change.

Chapter 2: Cathedral Mortuaryscapes

"churches, cathedrals, and monasteries embrace the greatest and most fertile store of untapped archaeological evidence in England" (Rodwell, 2005, 180).

Introduction

This chapter traces the origins of cathedral archaeology, identifying how it has gone from being at the forefront of 19th-century church archaeology to making only minor contributions to larger syntheses of burials and commemoration. Issues of periodisation and nationalism have also reduced the way cathedrals are discussed, and studies of the post-medieval cathedral are rare (although see Gilchrist, 2005). This chapter also considers how tombs and burials inside cathedrals are usually addressed separately from each other, and within different disciplines of art history and burial archaeology. The strong interest in church tombs as visual culture has overlooked other sensory encounters with the entombed dead. Thus thinking about cathedrals as a mortuaryscape involving both burials and monuments, and exploring them from a haptic perspective, is a fresh way of examining relationships between the living and the curated dead.

Understandably, an exhaustive appraisal of scholarship thus far for each arena (church archaeology, monument studies, and burial archaeology) is beyond the capabilities of this chapter. Rather, having sketched the importance of the post-mortem dead in chapter 1, this chapter focuses on providing an overview of church archaeology and monument studies which this thesis also contributes towards. In particular, key texts from monument studies are highlighted and discussed in relation to themes of visuality, emotion, and commemorative identity, echoing the interests of this thesis. Studies from burial archaeology are discussed in relation to methodological approaches, including the type and frequency of sites and burials

traditionally selected for study. This issue is returned to in the methodology in the following chapter (Chapter 3).

PART 1: CATHEDRAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Unlike their parish and monastic counterparts, both extant and lost cathedrals have "received pitifully little attention until the last two decades of the twentieth century, with a few notable exceptions" (Rodwell, 2005, 33). Most notable for this study is that cathedrals contributed only 5% of the sites investigated archaeologically between 1955 and 1980: a total of 27 (Morris, 1983, 10). What form and scale this investigation took, the accuracy involved, the agenda which influenced it and how widely it was disseminated afterwards, remain a different matter altogether (Morris, 1983, 10). Gerrard's (2003, 100-1) survey of medieval sites published in the journal *Medieval Archaeology* from 1956-2000 demonstrates how cathedrals were consistently one of the least studied buildings throughout the period.

This lack of interest in cathedrals has not always been the case. By the 19th century, architectural scholarship of church and cathedral construction had been laid down, having been spear-headed by the Reverend Robert Willis (1800-1875), heralded as the 'father of British cathedral archaeology' (Tatton-Brown, 1989, 9; also Morris, 1983, 6). Cathedrals were at the forefront of the new discipline of church archaeology, with Willis publishing several notable monographs on English cathedrals between the 1840s and 1860s (Willis, 1846; 1848; 1861a & b; 1867; 1869). His observations at Hereford cathedral (Willis, 1842) triggered wider interest in the grammar of medieval buildings and their construction. Notable disseminators of Willis' approach were J.T. Irvine (1893) who excavated the monastic foundations of Peterborough cathedral, and J.T. Micklethwaite (1873) on Westminster Abbey. Cathedrals continued to be at the forefront of later influential studies by W.H. St.

John Hope who published archaeological studies of cathedrals including Gloucester (1897), Norwich (1899), Rochester (1900), and Wells (1910).

Excavations by Willis and his contemporaries sought to gain empirical evidence of construction methods and relative dates gleaned from below-ground archaeology, which would otherwise be lost or covered over again after restoration. This was partly as a preservative record ahead of restoration work, which was widespread across England's cathedrals in the 19th century (Tatton-Brown, 1989, 10).

However, monuments and burials are noticeably absent in these 19th-century reports, unless they informed the stratigraphy of the building. This was due to the architectural fixation of 19th and early 20th-century church archaeologists which linked architectural periods with a national identity. Thomas Rickman (1817) is commonly credited with the first publication of an 'English' architecture common to all churches and cathedrals (Morris, 1983, 6). He recorded and compared medieval buildings from which he developed the architectural periods of 'Early English', 'Decorated', and 'Perpendicular'. Rickman linked these three styles with three discrete historical periods, demonstrating not only a shared architectural heritage across medieval England, but comparable rates of change in architectural developments. Thus a 'national' style of church architecture was established in England, each phase being synonymous with a medieval era.

Morris (1983, 6) notes the 'pedantic approach' of many nineteenth century publications, following Rickman's work, evident in title keywords: *Specimens, Remarks, Parallels, Manuals,* etc. There was high demand for these technical guides as they were consulted by churches and cathedrals requiring restoration, or for new churches being built in a 'medieval'

or Neo-Gothic style (Morris, 1983, 6). Thus cathedrals were mined by church archaeologists for their earliest evidence of medieval architecture.

Francis Bond (1905, xix-xx) launched an attack on Rickman's work, which had become so influential that it was now governing how church archaeologists engaged with the building, limiting the questions they would ask and the investigations they would conduct. He argued that "there is no such thing" as Rickman's four architectural phases and pointed out that in order to adhere to these categories, the cathedral had to be imagined as stopping at the end of each phase and starting again from scratch, as if nothing had gone before (Bond, 1905, xx). Instead, Bond (1905, xx-xxii) sought an understanding of transitions between phases of medieval building work. Although burials and monuments were still not on the research agenda, Bond's new aims for understanding the subtleties of historic changes within cathedrals was an important intellectual shift.

Cathedrals and Nationalism

Nineteenth-century church archaeology was treated as a cornerstone of an 'English' history (Morris, 1996). Cathedrals in particular were studied, categorised and described in terms of their 'Englishness' by emphasising their architectural, decorative, theological, and managerial differences to Continental cathedrals and basilicas (Morris, 1996). Bond advocated studying ecclesiastic architecture, as the "supreme achievements of our [English] race" (Bond, 1905, xvii). Gilchrist has (2005, 11) noted how English cathedrals competed in demonstrating their 'Englishness' even into the 20th century. Studies have directly and in directly compared the "cultural achievements" of English cathedrals and the degree of 'Englishness' achieved or manifested in the fixtures, fabric and fittings of a given building (Gilchrist, 2005, 11).

International comparisons were also based on the martyrs, royals and saints associated with a given cathedral and any pre-existing structures from Roman or early Anglo-Saxon periods of occupation of the site (Gilchrist, 2005, 11). For example, Gilchrist (2005, 11) points to Augustus Jessop's bemoaning of Norwich cathedral's weak contribution to English history;

> "The priory of Norwich has nothing to boast of in its history. It was not set down in the wilderness, it had no fabulous past to look back upon it. No saint had come forth from it, no martyr or hero had ever shed the lustre of his name upon its annals... From first to last it had been a singularly useless institution as compared with any other great English monastery with equal resources" (Jessop, 1888, xvi).

The late 19th and early 20th-century desire to define a 'national style' was not found in architectural studies of Italy, France or Germany but represents a distinctly English approach (Choay, 2001, 48-9). It has since been established that such a difference, while by no means imaginary, has certainly been overplayed (e.g. Lehmberg, 2005, xiii). Indeed, churches and cathedrals in England had a reciprocal relationship with Continental liturgical styles, visual culture, and monumentality which cannot be dismissed wholesale (Lehmberg, 2005, xiii).

Bond (1905, xviii) also complained how few academics were able to study medieval architecture by visiting sites, since they rarely had both the time and money to make cross-country journeys. There was also difficulty accessing out-of-print or hard-to-find books on the topic (Bond, 1905, xviii). This was despite the fact that the advent of England's cross-country railways in the 1840s facilitated faster journeys for those studying and (re-)visiting England's churches and cathedrals (Morris, 1996, 1). Railway and cathedral clocks were also synchronized after 1850, which encouraged a series of new publications of English cathedrals and abbeys by railway companies (Morris, 1996, 2). However, even by the 1920s, mass-

produced railway guides by companies such as Great Western Railway were still limited to just the cathedrals and abbeys served by their routes (Morris, 1996, 2).

Cathedrals after the Second World War

The Second World War, however, caused a significant shift in research agendas. The cathedrals of Coventry, St Paul's, Exeter, and Llandaff endured significant bombing damage, as well as many parish churches around the country (Rodwell, 2005, 26). With so many churches, particularly those in urban contexts, irreparably damaged by war, and an awareness of how easily this could be repeated, church archaeologists realised that most churches needed preservation by record ahead of potential destruction (Rodwell, 2005, 26). In response, the Central Council for the Care of Churches called for emergency church recording in 1940, and obtained government permission to use photographic materials for rapid surveying (Rodwell, 2005, 26). Despite these drastic measures, little recording was actually undertaken during World War II (Rodwell, 2005, 26).

In the decades following the War, church archaeology became increasingly divided from mainstream archaeology in the UK (Morris 1983, 8-9). This stemmed from three additional issues. Firstly, churches and cathedrals have been ring-fenced by concentric circles of ecclesiastical committees and courts, which kept these buildings at a perceived distance from archaeologists (Morris (1983, 8-9). They appeared less accessible to those seeking to do anything other than rescue work.

With the passing of the Ancient Monuments Acts of 1913 and 1931, archaeological access to active sites (i.e. still in use) was disrupted (Morris, 1983, 8). The formation of the Royal Commissions on Ancient and Historical Monuments [RCAHM] in 1908, followed by the

Office of Works in 1920, encouraged non-invasive investigation of sites and monuments rather than excavation (Morris, 1983, 6). Although many churches were subjected to campaigns of clearance and re-ordering in the 1950s and 1960s, not all were recorded and even fewer published (Morris, 1983, 8). Resultantly, churches and cathedrals have been viewed as not only 'different' from other archaeological sites, but beyond archaeological intervention if the site is active (Morris, 1983, 8).

Secondly, the establishment and legitimisation of medieval archaeology after the Second World War generated interest in medieval settlement patterns (Morris, 1983, 8-9). Such studies began to flourish using evidence of medieval churches as clues to lost or abandoned medieval settlements (DMV/DMS: Deserted Medieval Villages/Settlement). Yet this was at the expense of traditional church archaeology, which was viewed as a restrictive method, and its architectural evidence largely irrelevant (Morris, 1983, 8-9). Thirdly, traditional archaeological excavation methods were also unable to cope with the complexities of church stratigraphy, and results often failed to justify the effort of excavation and recording (Morris, 1983, 9).

However, during the post-war decades, investigating overlooked materials such as timber, and types of stone and mortar, became possible through dendrochronological master sequences and new petrological techniques (Morris, 1983, 2). This led to Tatton-Brown (1989, 10) arguing that surviving woodwork in cathedrals now provided the greatest source of dating evidence because of dendrochronology. Thus relative dating sequences for architectural phases could be assigned actual dates. This stance clearly emphasised archaeology's role in church studies as a methodology, even in the 1980s. It was a scientific, empirical application which could fill in the gaps left by historical and typological studies.

In response, Fernie (1989, 20) has argued that historic periods of churches and cathedrals should not be categorised by architectural features but by overall cultural attitudes, allowing church archaeology to reconnect with established phases in mainstream medieval archaeology. Such an approach would demand widening the scope of evidence beyond architectural features. It also required synthesising empirical findings with other archaeological and historical evidence.

One of the barriers to this has been the emphasis on the medieval incarnation of churches and cathedrals. The majority of studies concerning cathedrals have focussed on their medieval epoch and leaving the post-medieval cathedral underrepresented in many studies. For example, Warwick Rodwell (2005) acknowledges that post-medieval churches and features have equal academic value with earlier evidence, but still has a strong medieval bias throughout his work. Tim Tatton-Brown focuses on the period 1070-1530 "looking at how the cathedrals were built, drawing in particular on new evidence about the fabric" (1989, 12). While he advocates an interdisciplinary approach to cathedral archaeology, his main motivation is for multiple fields of scholarship to centre on the dating of cathedral phases and linking cathedral activity with local and national events (Tatton-Brown 1989, 10-11). In this respect, Tatton-Brown ultimate suggests cathedrals should be situated within their 'generational context':

> "... Salisbury cathedral is very much a product of the thirteenth-century in England, just as St Paul's cathedral is a product of seventeenth-century London or Liverpool's Roman Catholic cathedral is of the nineteen sixties" (1989, 10).

However, he recognised the importance of understanding what has been lost during successive phases of cathedral rebuilding (Tatton-Brown, 1989, 11). Yet he lauded Willis as a scholar "well ahead of his time" predominantly because Willis' work revealed the medieval architectural origins of cathedrals and how they were built (Tatton-Brown, 1989, 9). The fact that a Victorian academic remains one of the most influential and oft-quoted cathedral 'archaeologists' hints at the relatively slow progress and largely monolithic, empirical approach undertaken in this area of research.

Morris (1983, 1) pointed to the role of archaeology in identifying pre-Christian and early medieval origins of churches, referencing Martin Biddle's desire to utilise a "chronological framework provided by the date of the foundation of... churches established as a result of archaeological excavation" (1976, 69). There is no reference to post-Reformation studies of churches and cathedrals in either the 1976 or 1983 CBA reports (Addyman & Morris, 1976; Morris, 1983), further underpinning a long-standing separation of churches into medieval and post-medieval phases. As a result, Morris (1983, 1) advocated an awareness of post-Reformation repairs, not because they were intrinsically worthy of study but because they could confuse the precise dimensions of earlier incarnations of the building.

This was, however, rectified with the 1996 CBA report (Blair & Pyrah, 1996) which devoted a series of papers to churches since the 17th century, in England, Scotland, and Wales. This reflects an increasing interest in post-medieval archaeology more broadly (see below). However, cathedral monographs rarely discuss the post-medieval cathedral (although see Aylmer & Tiller, 2000; Gilchrist, 2005) and there is noticeable emphasis on the medieval incarnation(s) of cathedrals (e.g. Clifton, 1967; Tatton-Brown, 1989; Orme, 1986; 2009; Tatton-Brown & Crook, 2002; 2009). Rather, they often combine archaeological and

architectural evidence to create a narrative of the cathedral from its earliest days. Although the changes a cathedral underwent during the Reformation are commonly included, the post-medieval cathedral has traditionally received less attention. Moreover, the majority of cathedral monographs describe the complex evolution of various architectural features (mouldings, windows, doors, floors etc.) and spaces (nave, choir, transepts etc.) and how each of these provide evidence of a (new) construction phase (e.g. Tatton-Brown & Munby, 1996). Dating techniques and evidence, both relative and specific, are outlined in an attempt to clarify multifaceted sequences of architectural development, adding depth to a chronological narrative.

This is exemplified by the sole volume currently dedicated to the subject; *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* edited by Tim Tatton-Brown & Julian Munby (1996), based on a conference held in Oxford in 1989. Each chapter focuses on a cathedral, except for Ripon and Hexham which are compared. Of the seventeen chapters, 10 focus on the architectural fabric of a particular cathedral(s). The emphasis is clearly on the empirical evidence of the cathedral building: stylistic types and typologies of structural elements, the application of dendrochronology to surviving woodwork, and the architectural development from selected periods of individual cathedral biographies. Despite being published in 1996, Richard Morris' review of cathedral archaeology is dated 1800-2000 (Morris, 1996). At first glance, this would seem a little premature. Yet the review could have been extended to 2012 and would still have been accurate, since cathedral archaeology has not undergone any extensive or noteworthy transformation since 1996.

In studies of individual cathedrals, architectural elements are commonly cross-referenced with comparable examples from other cathedrals, often with the purpose of linking the

evolution or copying of a particular architectural style. For example, Roberta Gilchrist's (2005) detailed study of Norwich cathedral draws on Nicholas Orme's (1986) comprehensive study of Exeter cathedral as a useful parallel for the development of different spaces within the cathedral and its precincts. As the basic layout of cathedrals has been adhered to since their inception, with only later, occasional deviations from the standard template, the focus has been on developing styles of building from later phases as cathedrals were re-built and augmented in a variety of different periods and aesthetic preferences.

Cathedral monographs engaging in any overtly theoretical discussions of the building and its occupants, either living or dead, are rare. Roberta Gilchrist's (2005) recent treatment of Norwich cathedral is a welcome exception. Although her synthesis does not cover the entire lifecycle of the cathedral, it does go beyond the physical boundaries of the cathedral church to address its precincts, cemeteries, and the medieval cityscape which surrounded it. The wider landscape was an important inclusion. Although cathedrals have been studied for over two centuries, much of the scholarship centred on the immediate building fails to incorporate the precincts (Gilchrist, 2005, 1). Her analysis of church space at Norwich in terms of liturgical sequences and gendered access (Gilchrist, 2005) also sets her monograph apart from other archaeological offerings, and builds on themes developed in her earlier monastic research (Gilchrist, 1994; 1999; Gilchrist & Mytum, 1989).

Gilchrist (2005, 11) adopted; "a contextual and anthropological approach, evaluating the experience of medieval and early modern life in Norwich cathedral, rather than judging the success or progress of its aesthetic or cultural achievements." More significantly, her investigation, while rich in detail concerning the physical, managerial and theological development of Norwich cathedral, incorporated a refreshing and innovative theoretical

consideration of sacred space, focussing on degrees of sanctity and a sense of 'boundedness' through which generations of the cathedral's communities were defined through spatial boundaries and hierarchies of space.

However, Gilchrist's appraisal was focussed predominantly on Norwich's medieval heyday with only one chapter devoted to its post-Reformation development up until *c.*AD1700. The reasoning behind this seventeenth-century cut-off point is not made clear although Gilchrist is positive in her encouragement of future studies of Norwich cathedral in the "eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period beyond the remit of this volume" (Gilchrist, 2005, 10). The twentieth, and indeed, twenty-first century developments of Norwich cathedral are left unaccounted for. Nonetheless, her study of Norwich has demonstrated a way of engaging with cathedrals beyond the familiar architectural periods, by exploring the social practices and gendered identities of those engaging with the space.

Summary

English cathedrals were initially at the forefront of church archaeology's development in the 19th century but by the 1980s, totalled only 5% of investigative sites. Their interior burials and monuments have rarely played a significant role in research agendas or interpretations, although the Biddle's excavations at Winchester (e.g. Kjølbye-Biddle, 1975; 1992) were an unusual mid-20th century exception. Even late 20th excavations of UK cathedral interiors at St Albans (e.g. Biddle, 1979; Kjølbye-Biddle, 1980), Canterbury (*Blockley et al*, 1997), Chester (Ward, 2000), and Glasgow (Driscoll, 2002) were conducted as rescue and recording operations ahead of major building work. Churches and cathedrals have also been considered 'off limits' to many archaeologists because of their continued use as places of worship.

With the 1990 *Care of Cathedrals Measure* cathedrals legally required archaeological appraisals ahead of repairs (Rodwell, 2005, 11). This meant the installation of at least one qualified archaeologist at each UK cathedral. Knowing that an archaeologist was already assigned to a cathedral may have inadvertently dissuaded other archaeologists from starting research projects in the belief that they would be stepping on the cathedral archaeologist's toes. As a result, research questions have not been formulated by church archaeologists beyond the stratigraphy, phasing, and construction methods of the (medieval) cathedral. Indeed, the aims of those investigating operational churches are fundamentally the same as their 19th century forebears. The post-medieval cathedral also continues to be viewed as little more than a hindrance to understanding the medieval version and although, an important treatment by Gilchrist (2005) of Norwich cathedral has demonstrated the productive inclusion of thematic and theoretical frameworks, there has been a decade of silence since then.

PART 2: CHURCH MONUMENTS

Although church archaeology has been dominated by architectural studies since the 19th century, its roots can be traced back to monument studies of the 16th century. Very few commentaries of monuments and burials within large Christian centres exist prior to the sixteenth century. A rare example survives from St Albans, where an anonymous 15th century monk catalogued destroyed and re-used monuments from inside his abbey (Lloyd, 1873). More importantly for the nobility of the 16th and 17th centuries, the survival of ancestral tombs, especially the heraldry and coats-of-arms displayed through tomb sculpture, was key in securing ancient familial rights to land and rights to bear arms (Lindley, 2007, 32-4, 213; Sherlock, 2008, 140-1,146-7).

The destruction of monuments was linked with the advent of antiquarian interest in preserving and recording the past, as part of the outrage and fear that key elements of English history would be lost (Lindley, 2007, 7). The earliest survey of England's ecclesiastical buildings was produced by John Leland *c.*1535-1543 having been commissioned by King Henry VIII (Leland, 1770 [1543]). Leland reported on the state of monastic sites in the aftermath of the Dissolution of the Shrines (1530s) and Dissolution of the Monasteries (1538-41). However, his descriptions of surviving monuments varied wildly in length and depth of detail, and his main focus was epitaphs and heraldry. It also generally lacked illustrations. This means we are largely reliant on his verbal descriptions which are often vague or absent altogether. Moreover, cathedrals received almost no attention since abbeys and priories were his main concern.

John Weever (1576-1632) provided one of the first major publications on medieval funerary remains and practices. Weever spent the best part of 30 years recording inscriptions from tombs in South East England, in the hope of preserving what had survived Reformation attacks (Parry, 1977, 85-7). Over a thousand were published in *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (Weever, 1767 [1631]) from the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, Norwich and London, although his aim had been to survey the whole country.

Weever was heavily influenced by, and frequently referenced, John Leland's and William Camden's earlier works (Parry, 1977, 86). Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (1870 [1605]) included evidence from epitaphs which seems to have inspired Weever's research, and his *Britannia* (1772 [1586]) used a shire-by-shire structure which Weever appropriated for *Ancient Funerall Monuments.* Weever appears envious of Leland's royal commission because it had allowed him unobstructed access to view and record monuments (Parry, 1977,

86). In contrast, Weever had been refused permission by local authorities to do the same, because he had no license and many monuments were privately controlled (Parry, 1977, 86). Following the devastation of the 16th century English Reformation, local pictorial and textual records began to be created documenting elite tombs in churches in case they were also destroyed. Examples include Sir Edward Dering's annotated sketches of tombs in his home county of Kent during 1628-34 (Esdaile, 1935); William Dugdale's *A History of St Paul's* (1818 [1658]) and *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1692 [1643]); reference to tombs in Richard Izacke's (1677) history of Exeter cathedral; Thomas Browne's (1712) catalogue of tombs at monuments at Norwich Cathedral, which he started in 1680; Reverend John Dart's (1726) survey of Canterbury Cathedral's monuments; and John Hooker's (1765) descriptions of bishop's burials and tombs in Devonshire. This highlights a shift towards the dead as academic material (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005, 8) serving new cathedral histories and guidebooks (e.g. Gostling, 1825[1779]). The importance of recording tombs visually was key, as imagery could stand as a preservative record in the absence of the physical tomb. What is of interest is the way monuments were not so much being conserved or salvaged by antiquarians but reconstructed as if never damage (see Lindley, 2012).

For example, Edward Blore (1826) incorporated descriptions of a monument's state of (dis)repair and his synthesis of early relevant comments by Camden and Weever. This provides clues into post-seventeenth-century destruction and degradation visible by the early nineteenth century. Although his restoration work was often viewed as methodical but characterless (the 1844 edition of *The Ecclesiologist* was particularly scathing of his work), Blore engraved the majority of the illustrations with a high degree of technical skill. Crucially, his engravings are not sterile depictions but incorporated the light and shade suffusing various monuments in their nineteenth-century positions. Blore provides a glimpse

of the sensory context for each of his chosen effigies and also roughly sketches the architectural elements visible behind and around the monuments.

While Blore was certainly adept at illustrating monuments, it was Stothard's crisp linearity, methodical attention to detail and diagrammatical approach which had been much lauded by his contemporaries (Lindley, 2012, 413-4). Stothard illustrated important elements of monuments in separate details, magnified for clarity and often coloured (Lindley, 2012, 414). He drew the effigies and their parts without any architectural context: backgrounds were erased, adjoining monuments were ignored and even the bases of the monuments were omitted. His tombs were anatomised and dissected, usually devoid of context and thus praised for their lack of sensory effects (Lindley, 2012, 413). Thus the desire for deconstructive illustrations, as presented in Stothard's early surveys, and copied by those finishing his work after his accidental death (Lindley, 2012, 413), reveals a nineteenth-century concern for high reprographic accuracy in a pre-photographic period.

This links with a broad division between a sixteenth-century emphasis on large tombs and monuments, and seventeenth-century interest in heraldry and genealogy represented on various forms of sculpture and in related documents (Morris, 1983, 6). This division in emphasis on symbols, epitaphs and heraldry is also symptomatic of antiquarian interest in atomising visual elements of tombs, which laid the foundations for future tomb research which has prioritised tombs as inherently visual rather than multi-sensory monuments. This is now explored through the visual catalogues created for monument studies and the stress on iconography.

Church Monuments, Patronage and Workshops

Specific types of tombs and memorials continued to be catalogued as discrete entities for much of the late 19th and twentieth century. Esdaile (1927; 1946) published the earliest treatments of mortuary monuments during and after the Reformation as a counterpoint to Crossley's (1921) *English church monuments A.D. 1150-1550* by the same publisher. Both books provided a broad evolution of monument styles over the centuries, including discussion of effigy costumes, colour, provenance, heraldry, authorship and craftsmanship. These earlier catalogues focussed on categorising and dating tombs and 'de-coding' elite symbols on tombs, further dissecting the tomb into component parts. The emphasis was traditionally on the families who commissioned the monuments, thereby studying the wealthiest and/or most influential members and families of society. The reception of these tombs by non-elites or later generations who could not 'de-code' them was overlooked.

There is also vast literature dedicated to typologies of tombs and memorials based on their primary raw material. The Society of Monumental Brasses has been dedicated to recording and disseminating the study of brasses since 1887, alongside its journal *Transactions of the Monumental Brasses Society* (see: Busby, 1987). There is currently an overwhelming compendium of research centred on brass used for memorials, which is no longer considered the domain of the medievalist, as exemplified by post-medieval brass research (e.g. Meara, 2008). Saul's (2001) detailed investigation into the monumental brasses of the Cobham family provided an unusual *longue durée* approach across the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. He situated his study of the Cobham's long-term commemorative strategies within a wider culture of English gentry and social memory, providing an innovative counterpoint to traditional emphases on the technical and economic aspects of brass production. Owen (2009) has assessed sixteenth and seventeenth century brasses and effigies in Gloucestershire by

emphasising continuity of practice rather than a pre-and post-Reformation dichotomy. She demonstrates how early modern monuments could reflect an intensification of pious display and ideological grandstanding which had its roots in pre-Reformation attitudes rather than doctrines.

Although other raw materials have received less attention, there are still seminal corpuses of English and, to a lesser extent, Welsh evidence focussing on wooden effigies of the 13th to 17th centuries (Fryer, 1924), pre-Reformation alabaster tombs (Gardener, 1940) and medieval Purbeck marble tombs (Leach, 1975). Categorising tombs by raw material has focussed attention on schools and workshops creating these monuments or collective identities associated with a particular monument type. Brasses in particular have been separated out as a separate memorial and journals devoted to them rarely integrate them with other monument types. Thus even within monument studies, divisions have been drawn based on the raw material and the body types presented in these different media. Yet there is great potential for considering how the materiality of different raw materials may have impacted the way people have physically interacted with them post-installation.

Church Monuments and Social Identities

Tombs have also been categorised according to social identities. Tummers (1980) catalogued 13th-century English secular effigies of knights and nobility. Downing (1999; 2002; 2010a&b) has produced an ongoing series of regional surveys of extant medieval military effigies. Surveys of late medieval and early modern commemorative monuments to academics at Oxford University have also been undertaken, highlighting their difference from memorials of the nobility, representation of academic achievement and community identity (e.g. Sherlock, 1999; Knoell, 2001).

However, the explicitly archaeological approach of Dodson means his survey moved beyond simply focussing on the tombs and their royal occupants, in the manner of Duffy (2003). Instead, Dodson incorporated skeletal evidence, funerary material culture accompanying the dead, and architectural spaces dedicated to the dead, such as vaults. While Duffy (2003) had focussed on narrating individual funerals and aspects of tomb creation, Dodson situated the monuments within their church contexts, creating a broader, more holistic understanding of evolving royal mortuary culture in Britain through the surviving environment and physical remains. The different approaches taken by Duffy and Dodson regarding royal tombs reflects the agendas employed in these academic fields. Dodson's approach also presents a rare encouragement to synthesise monument and burial evidence.

Although medieval evidence still receives a large amount of scholarly attention, post-sixteenth century monuments are being researched beyond their role as indicators of post-Reformation change or continuity of belief and practice. For example, Gittos & Gittos (1989) demonstrated how pre-1500 funerary monuments in the East Riding of Yorkshire were reused, highlighting aspects of the local economy and elite patronage. In the most recent CBA Report on church archaeology and its research potential, monuments were not afforded a dedicated chapter (Blair & Pyrah, 1996). However, they were mentioned in passing in chapters focussed on chronological phases of church development. For example, Christine Peters (Brown et al., 1996, 75) briefly reviewed the potential of late medieval monuments to reveal changing patterns of elite devotion, artistic fashions and influences, and enable restoration work to be conducted with increasing accuracy. Post-medieval monuments or monuments examined alongside burials are not even suggested.

Yet these studies also focus on the identities of the upper echelons of society, and the tomb commissioners rather than wider audience reception. King (2011) has explored commemorative strategies of 'Stranger' communities in England. He notes how non-English groups used church monuments as a way of identifying their presence, expressing their faith, and their connections with homelands by importing types of funerary monument not common to England at the time. His study of a minority group within post-medieval England also emphasises the importance of considering the aims and impact of non-elites within the Protestant Church.

Graves (2000), however, addressed the appropriation of religious space by the laity through the construction of guild and private chantry chapels. Her focus on lay experience of church commemoration in medieval Exeter and Norfolk, however, provides a point of departure for this thesis which also seeks to explore the social dimensions of Christian experience as well as religious identities. Moreover, she identified tight control of visual space by the clergy in Exeter yet lay control of viewsheds to the mass in Norfolk. These clergy-laity tensions surrounding sighted-access and experiences within churches have much potential for exploration from a haptic perspective.

Church Monuments and Spatiality

Social identities and dynamics between the living and the dead have also been investigated through spatial studies of monuments. Finch (1991) had already published an early archaeological engagement with late medieval and early modern funerary monuments. This side-stepped the more traditional period gap of pre- and post-reformation studies by addressing evidence from 1400-1750. His regional approach centred on Norfolk church monuments which, he argued, were active agents in the creation and re-creation of social

identity amongst the local elite (Finch, 1991). More recently, Finch (2000, 2) has argued that the predominance of art historical studies of church monuments, particularly of elite examples, has meant the evolution of their spatial location has been overlooked.

While there have been a range of studies published since the 1980s regarding the reciprocal relationship between the medieval dead and their living counterparts (e.g. Gittings, 1984; Geary, 1994; Binski, 1996; Gordon & Marshall, 2000), Finch (2000, 2) also suggests the monument was a focal point in dialogues between the living and the dead has been neglected. Finch (1991) had previously emphasised commemorative patterns between churches and regions, assessing the dynamic between the living and the dead not only within specific churches, but across a suite of sites.

At a larger scale of funerary monument, Roffey (2011) focussed on nineteenth-century perceptions of chantry chapels and their re-purposing by two key restorers of the period; Pugin and Neale. His research deals with a range of churches and cathedrals from around the country and looks at how evolving theology in 19th century and revival of purgatory as an afterlife belief affected the use and return of the chantry chapel. Roffey's approach highlights how the re-ordering and 'sanitizing' of a space within an ecclesiastical building was not always a 'move forward' but could be deliberately anachronistic, paying homage to what was perceived by some at the time, a lost form of Christianity.

Spatial studies of monuments have illuminated complex visual and spatial networks of monuments and the nuances of competing social and religious identities. Yet they raise the question as to whether other senses, other than sight, could be used to connect spatially disconnected monuments. It asks a further question relating to the audiences engaging with

spatial networks of monuments: how might people who did not know the intentions of those who commissioned the monuments, or could not read or de-code the familial symbols, engage with them? Examining the interactions by later generations may help elucidate such questions.

Church Monuments and Emotive Affects

The symbolic nature of medieval ecclesiastical architecture has long been recognised but few dedicated studies have been produced on a large scale (for an exception, see Shannon Hendrix, 2010). Yet some studies of medieval tombs have highlighted emotional symbols and metaphors expressed through funerary sculpture (e.g. Binski 1996; Valdez del Álamo & Prendergast 2000). For Binksi (1996, 52), medieval grief was a gendered action, inherently female, which was codified and expressed through funeral monuments. Past and present medieval familial and territorial claims were also played out through the locations of tombs, and Binski points to this spatial aspect as equally important as their decorative content (Binski, 1996, 76). He also acknowledged how the architectural and artistic elements of medieval tombs were a "blurred genre" (Binski, 1996, 85), incorporating both image and text.

Valdez del Álamo & Prendergast (2000, 8) reiterated this by discussing how medieval tombs could elicit emotional responses through their location, as well as their depictions of mourners. Subsequently, the combination of tomb sculpture and its locale could provide instruction on appropriate grieving behaviour (Valdez del Álamo & Prendergast, 2000, 8). Such studies place the tomb as an emotive catalyst, encouraging the medieval viewer to interact with the monument. As predominantly art historical approaches, they emphasise visual experiences rather than haptic. Yet their interdisciplinary approaches to medieval death effectively combine the visual media of art and architecture with textual sources. Rather than

creating a purely social or theological history, they address how death was represented visually and this influenced, and was influenced by, new relationships between the living and the dead centred on shrines, tombs and chantries.

Returning to archaeological approaches, Tarlow's (1999) multi-disciplinary treatment of church commemoration over four centuries from the Reformation until the 20th century centred on St Magnus Cathedral, Orkney. She offers a rare foray into the post-Reformation cathedral and uses it to foreground the emotive expressions of grief and loss embedded in mortuary monuments of varying types. This was a crucial consideration of the relationships between the living and the dead from an emotive perspective. Of particular pertinence to this thesis is her exploration of identity and its connection with emotional states in mortuary contexts. This approach to the dead inside churches and cathedrals has yet to be followed up at other cathedrals. While this thesis is not primarily concerned with commemorative trends or symbols of emotion, it does seek to elucidate how emotional states could generate or be stimulated by haptic interactions with monuments.

Church Monuments as Body and Text

Two major publications of church monuments of recent years are courtesy of Llewellyn (2000) and Saul (2009). Llewellyn deliberately broke away from traditional art-historical approaches to early modern monuments by addressing them as 'ritual items' (Llewellyn, 2000, 36), rather than artistic products. Instead, Llewellyn examined how monuments could act as social closure, by bridging the gap in society left by the deceased; an approach informed by Van Gennep (2004 [1909]). This stands in direct contrast with art historical treatments which emphasise style, iconography, authorship, or artistic quality. Saul's (2009) equally ground-breaking study provided a historical context for mortuary monuments dating

from before the Norman Conquest to the early 16th century. Particular attention was paid to the medieval monument industry, and the distribution and evolution of monument types. It also addressed how they expressed the status and gender of the deceased through inscriptions and their incorporation in liturgies.

Both studies continue to be heavily-quoted in monument studies. This is partly because they were influenced by the Warburg Institute and its scholars, who seek to contextualise visual and literary media within social meanings (see Hulse & Erickson, 2000). However, the research trajectories presented by Llewellyn and Saul have yet to be fully capitalised on by either burial or cathedral archaeologists. There is also no engagement by Llewellyn, Saul, the Warburg scholars or those interested in church monuments, with the human remains and burials beneath or within the monuments.

Sherlock (2004) considers change in the English ecclesiastical effigy, as the body image of post-Reformation bishops began to emulate and merge with body images of male gentry effigies through dress, posture, location and inscriptions. Llewellyn (2000, 25, 90) echoes Panofsky's (1992, 73-80) 'activated effigy' in discussing tomb effigies as evidence for a post-medieval shift to individualism across Europe. Panofsky (1992, 73-83) identified the transition from recumbent to upright effigies in the 15th century, becoming increasingly 'animated' as they read books or sat on chairs or knelt at desks. Llewellyn (2000) suggests the effigy was a special kind of body - a 'Body Politic' - which substituted for the deceased and filled the gap in society created by their death. Echoing Kantorowicz & Jordan's (1997) 'two body' theory (the body carefully presented to the public versus the unstable, embarrassing body hidden in private), Llewellyn focuses on effigies as the public

representation of the individual, and therefore highly idealised, hiding the reality of the decaying body within or beneath the tomb.

However, Sherlock (2011b, 44) rejected the view that effigies were to ease social cohesion after the death of an individual, and instead, argued that they should be embedded within the spiritual, physical, and political ethos of the 16th and 17th centuries. Sherlock's appraisal is mainly focussed on how body-image and epitaph worked together to produce meaning, and for Sherlock, text dominates this relationship. This echoes ocular-centric ideas of visual culture and reading text: both sighted practices. It is also predicated on literacy, and not every cathedral visitor was able to read, or at least read the type of lettering or language on a monument. This is further compounded by varying degrees of epitaph legibility or survival of inscribed brass plaques per generation.

What is also apparent in these studies of tombs is that their emphasis is on the visual nature of mortuary culture. They offer interpretations and 'readings' of monuments based on decoding heraldry, symbolism and iconography. There is no wider sense of how these monuments were physically encountered, especially by those who were illiterate or unfamiliar with the symbolic code. Their focus is predominantly on the intentions of the monument commissioners. However, intention does not necessarily mean impact. Thus the reception of these tombs, particular by later generations with no understanding of the symbolic grammar, may not have been as intended by those who commissioned it. Moreover, the emphasis on Panofsky's (1992, 73-80) 'activated effigy, which looks back at the audience, also encourages a continued interest in ocular exchanges between the dead and the living.

A reconsideration of the effigial body and its relationship with touch, however, provides an alternative understanding of how people, literate and sighted or not, could engage with body-images through haptic practices as well. Representational bodies, especially church effigies, have been largely treated as evidence of visual culture. Approaching them as part of haptic culture as well, as Bailey (2005) has, can provide a fresh understanding of interaction between living bodies and representations of the dead. It may also reveal how intangible bodies were presenced through anthropomorphic microarchitecture.

PART 3: BURIALS INSIDE CHURCHES

Antiquarian Tomb Openings

Tomb openings in cathedrals and greater churches began to emerge in the 17th century, and continued sporadically into the 19th centuries (e.g. Ayloffe, 1786; also Morris, 1983, 89). They were not opened for purely pragmatic or violent reasons, but often fuelled by curiosity and the reputation of the perceived occupant. Antiquarians and clergy targeted, amongst numerous examples, the tombs of St Cuthbert at Durham cathedral, the medieval scholar Ranulph Higden's tomb at Chester Cathedral and William Rufus' (William II) tomb at Winchester cathedral (Morris, 1983, 89).

Subsequently, it was predominantly cathedral tombs rather than church tombs which were opened, since cathedrals housed not only high-status individuals but those whose reputation and memory had been preserved as part of the cathedral history. The opening of individual tombs in cathedrals meant remains of the (medieval) clergy, royalty, and social elites were explored. The burials of laity in the naves and transepts were largely ignored unless particularly unusual (e.g. two wired skeletons in Exeter's nave: Anon, 1796, 1049). Tomb opening became a common pastime in cathedrals and greater parish churches (Morris, 1983,

89). Morris (1983, 89) claimed the clergy who conducted openings sought their medieval spiritual ancestors, and interested antiquarians sought verification of historical claims.

Many cathedrals today still house substantial collections of objects retrieved from these nineteenth-century investigations of 'famous' burials, such as crozier heads, episcopal rings, and other items included with the deceased (Morris, 1983, 89). The aim was predominantly to recover identifiable and valuable items from tombs and many bodies were left *in situ* or re-interred after being examined (Appendix 3). These were either analysed in relation to the life of the owner or in relation to an artefact category (e.g. Waterton, 1863 on episcopal rings recovered from cathedral tomb openings).

Even though tomb openings are considered an antiquarian activity, some have been conducted in recent times. The Thomas More Society in 1978 opened and cleared debris from the Roper Vault at St Dunstan's church, Canterbury in pursuit of his decaying skull, located behind an iron grille in a wall niche (Tatton-Brown, 1980). At Canterbury cathedral, the whereabouts of Thomas Becket's body have been pursued at regular intervals in the twentieth century ever since the excavation of potential remains in 1888 (Butler, 1995).

Due to advances in osteoarchaeology and palaeopathology, the named dead are not the only ones selected for special study. Bodies exhibiting unusual defects or high-level preservation are also capable of becoming famed within archaeological circles. A prime example is the research excavations at the ruined St Bees priory church in Cumbria. In 1981 a fourteenth-century ashlar vault was opened, revealing the well-preserved fleshy remains of an individual since known as the 'St Bees Man', whose identity and the identity of his skeletonised partner have long been discussed (Knüsel et al., 2010). At Ripon cathedral, a late 15th century young

adult female was uncovered with an unusual chest deformity (Groves et al., 2003). Her remains were used as a case study for a discussion of late medieval medicine and female body image. Even though 'St Bees Man' and the young female at Ripon remain nameless, their physical condition in death and life (respectively) have garnered them special attention from the archaeological community.

The most recent and lauded example of both fame and pathology creating a *cause célèbre* is of course the excavation of Richard III's remains in Leicester in 2013. Although his skeletal remains have been kept largely intact physically, the properties of those bones have been fractured and fragmented across both the academic and popular landscape. For example, his internal parasites (Mitchell et al., 2013), scoliosis (Lund, 2015; Appleby et al., 2014a), and perimortem trauma (Appleby et al., 2014b) have been published in medical journals. Isotopic analysis of his diet appeared in *Archaeological Science* (Lamb et al., 2014) and his death and burial in *Antiquity* (Buckley et al., 2013). There are also various treatments of the excavation and findings for the popular press (e.g. Langley & Jones, 2013; Morris & Buckley, 2013; Pitts, 2014).

This is in sharp contrast with modern excavations of numerous empty or unidentifiable burials inside cathedrals, which are rarely, if ever, deliberately targeted, but are often collateral damage when restoration work is conducted on the cathedral fabric (e.g. Blockley, Sparks, & Tatton-Brown, 1997; Ward, 2000; Driscoll, 2002). Unlike Richard III's academic legacy, the nameless dead are largely homogeneous. Rather than receiving the in-depth, interdisciplinary studies afforded the bodies and body parts of the named and famed dead, the nameless dead are quantified by their presence or absence per burial, and their bones tallied in excavation reports. This hierarchy of interest in the special-anomalous dead versus the

unidentifiable dead has its roots in the select tomb openings of the elite cathedral dead which peaked in the 17th-19th centuries.

Some speculation may have been made regarding the size and appearance of the deceased in life. Osteological, palaeopathological and dental analysis undertaken by modern archaeologists in these respective fields did not begin until the 1960s (Roberts, 2006) but nonetheless, antiquarians such as Francis Buckland (1882) attempted early 'scientific' analyses of bones stored in cathedrals, especially human skulls. The human remains found during antiquarian tomb openings were scrutinized for their condition and number of surviving bones (McCombe, 2014).

Intramural Church Burials

Other notable studies have strengthened our understanding of church burial practices. Daniell (1997) provided the first focussed archaeological approach to medieval burial practice which was synthesised with documentary evidence. He addressed the geography of churchyard burials over time, identifying sudden and long-term changes, and the lack of grave-goods in burials of non-elites and non-clergy (Daniell, 1997, 148-53). Daniell highlighted the variety of attributes in medieval burials, including coffins, grave linings and clothing, but as Gilchrist & Sloane (2005, 7) pointed out, these were dealt with as a homogenous practice. Regional differences and chronological trends were not discussed.

Gilchrist & Sloane's (2005) synthesis of medieval burials from around England, Wales and Scotland was the synthesis of over 8000 medieval burials from around 70 cemeteries across England, Wales and Scotland focussed primarily on monastic cemeteries and churches (*c.*1050-*c.*1600). While cathedral burials were included, they were largely supplementary to

the database. However, the significance of this report lies in its interweaving of religious belief with aspects of social identity and commemorative goals for individuals and families as expressed through burials. This was enveloped within considerations of the agency of mourners and how they mediated relationships between the living and the dead through burial practices.

Cherryson, Crossland & Tarlow's (2012) comprehensive survey of published and unpublished post-medieval burials from Britain and Ireland is discussed from the perspective of pre-burial preparation of the body, burial locations, unusual burials, and anatomical uses of the unburied body. The large dataset allows the volume to navigate between large social and historical changes and detailed case studies of individual bodies and cemeteries. This allows the authors to discern both changes and continuities in early modern conflicting beliefs, mortuary practices, and ideologies.

The publication of around 1000 well-preserved post-medieval (1729-1852) crypt burials from Spitalfields, London (Molleson & Cox, 1993) has also encouraged a consideration of what the authors termed 'the middling sort' of 18th-century society. This shifted attention away from the elite tombs in the above-ground, and onto the burials themselves, who were often marked only by inscriptions on coffins or were unidentifiable. Moreover, masculine identities expressed in burials were particularly foregrounded (Molleson & Cox, 1993, 157-166) and evidence of post-burial disturbances in the form of body-snatching (Molleson & Cox, 1993, 203-205).

In King & Sayer's (2011) recent volume interior burials from churches and cathedrals are discussed in a manner familiar to osteologists and burial archaeologists. The human remains

are analysed for evidence of age, sex, palaeopathologies and evidence for a particular demographic (Powers & Miles, 2011). Evidence of burial preferences, such as coffins and coffin plaques, funerary dress, and occasional grave goods, are examined for general patterns of changes to and survival of burial practices (Mahoney-Swales, O'Neill, & Willmott, 2011; Sayer, 2011a).

Sayer's (2011b) review of post-medieval mortuary spaces and choices focuses on the variability within Protestant burial practices between the sixteenth-nineteenth centuries. This variation is evident chronologically, regionally and socially and Sayer uses this evidence to comment on the variety of identities represented in post-medieval burial traditions. Sayer's (2011b, 200) survey accommodates a variety of burial grounds – parish churchyards, 'new churchyards', cemetery extensions, chapel and meeting house burial sites and garden cemeteries. Although cathedrals and intramural church burials are not the focus of his study, Sayer compares the burial population of Cross Bones churchyard developed by Southwark Cathedral around 1673 for 'single women' (i.e. local prostitutes) with those actually buried at the cathedral (2011b, 204).

However, the main point made by Sayer is that there was a difference in coffin provision between the two sites which he links to the different social groups occupying these burial grounds. Although these are new periods and sites being examined under the banner of post-medieval burial archaeology, the research questions are very familiar. Attention is paid to quantifiable patterns and trends relating to the identity of the dead as expressed through funerary practices. Such studies draw upon empirical evidence from skeletal and artefactual remains, couched in discussions of religious beliefs and social structures. However, monuments such as grave markers, wall plaques, tomb chests and crypts or vaults are not

specifically examined from inside churches and cathedrals. Instead, the emphasis lies on reconstructing past bodies and identities from exhumed burials, and evidence of funerary provision within a particular form of Christianity.

There has been a distinct difference in the theory, method and scale of investigations undertaken on named and nameless individuals buried within and without churches and cathedrals. Intramural burials have traditionally been for those of higher social, political and religious status, although burial in the nave floor became more acceptable, affordable and therefore common amongst lower classes from the late seventeenth to early twentieth century. Free-standing and wall-niche tombs, chantry chapels, effigies and saints' shrines were directly and explicitly associated with a named individual or groups of individuals. Such commemoration has, in many cases, stood the test of time and is still identifiable to the deceased(s) buried there.

Currently, churchyard and graveyard studies are limited to surviving post-sixteenth century gravestones. Almost all medieval churchyard monuments in England have been destroyed, re-purposed in building work, or buried in the churchyard following centuries of churchyard maintenance schemes (Jones, 1984; Mytum, 2000). This represents a genuine break between the medieval and post-medieval periods of extramural commemoration. The names, dates, inscriptions, symbols and epitaphs found on many gravestones, and their location, form and material, has facilitated a wide range of studies from social, spiritual, emotive and commercial perspectives by archaeologists (e.g. Buckham, 2003).

Even though many studies have focussed on a region or a single site, most churchyards and cemeteries provide a large and accessible assemblage of gravestones, the majority of which

have dates on them to enable chronological comparisons. Thus a single site can supply tens if not hundreds of examples for cross-referencing by a variety of indices: age at death, gender, religious expression, symbolism, epitaph style, cause of death, occupation, home town, family connections, and commercial stone masons, amongst others. These nodes of investigation echo similar approaches found in burial archaeology, where the age at death, sex/gender, and in some cases, the cause of death may be cross-referenced across an excavated cemetery using osteological evidence. Accompanying grave finds, from portable artefacts and animal remains to body containers and grave linings, may also be incorporated into analyses of (local) beliefs and practices. Therefore, although studies of funerary monuments and burials may differ in the data they provide, both welcome similar approaches incorporating social and religious lines of enquiry often using a large dataset.

Conclusion

Current research agendas in church archaeology reveal deeper fissures in our knowledge of the cathedral dead. Emphases on *either* burials *or* monuments *or* cathedrals which had emerged by the 19th century have been perpetuated into modern archaeological studies. Burial archaeology has rarely addressed the cathedral dead and they contribute so little to current research in this field. Archaeological studies of graveyard and churchyard monuments are well-attested, and yet interior monuments of churches and cathedrals are often reduced to single-focus treatments of extreme examples, particularly the oldest, largest, most famous or most complex monuments. Where syntheses have been provided, they tend to focus solely on the monument but not the accompanying burial and *vice versa*. In broad terms, interior mortuary monuments have been the domain of the art historian while exterior mortuary monuments have been dominated by archaeologists. Thus a disparity between approaches and

types of evidence has occurred. A fresh approach seeking to transcend the burial-monument divide and (re-)connect it with the cathedral dead, is both timely and original.

The role of the dead buried within church buildings has often been limited to either providing relative dating for stratigraphical sequences or art historical approaches to the types and forms of various memorials and epitaphs at junctures during the life of a cathedral. Alternatively, burial archaeology in Britain has advanced its bioarchaeological and theoretical studies by focussing on large inhumation (and to a lesser degree, cremation) datasets. Inside churches and cathedrals, however, the named and famed dead are singled out for special attention in a similar manner to the elite tombs. Conversely, the unnamed, poorly-preserved, absent, and unidentifiable dead are homogenised and dismissed as 'corrupt data'. They receive little, if any, further engagement on their own merit, unless their disturbed stratigraphy informs on the building sequences of the cathedral fabric. There is a general disinterest in cathedrals post-sixteenth century. Thus the *longue durée* of an archaeological approach is wholly applicable in order to include cathedrals up-to-and-including their late twentieth and twenty-first century incarnations, which have been termed an 'endangered species' (CoE & CCC 1990). Ultimately, it is hoped that this chapter makes clear the importance of studying cathedrals beyond their architectural narrative.

An archaeological approach, focusing on the materiality and sensory nature of past encounters with the dead and mortuary monuments, is a prime vehicle for steering a multi-disciplinary study. However, it should be conducted with an awareness of the documentary legacy provided by early antiquarian studies of the same material. The antiquarian commentaries and catalogues provide both raw evidence and contemporary perceptions of the dead and their monuments ripe for exploiting. They provide important clues to the treatment

and perception of physical evidence, and in some cases, accounts of their handling by various researchers and visitors. The importance of touching physical remains of the dead, both human and monumental, presents a new way of thinking about, and approaching, the long-term curation and perception of the dead over the centuries. Haptic experiences and events, as shall be demonstrated, were crucial in forming an active understanding of the past and the present.

Chapter 3: Haptic Approaches to the Dead

"Seeing is believing, but feeling's the truth" English Proverb (Smith, 2007, 93).

Introduction

This chapter outlines a haptic approach to mortuary monuments and the unburied. By tracing the evolution of phenomenology and embodiment, it aims to show how interlinked concepts of presence and absence, phenomenology, embodiment, and the senses have become important research trajectories in archaeology since the 1990s, particularly since the millennium. Yet, as discussed, touch in past societies has been relatively overlooked in archaeology due to a strong interest in sighted experiences of the archaeologist and ocular exchanges between the living and the dead in prehistoric contexts.

The chapter then turns to a range of studies within and beyond archaeology which have demonstrated the need to consider touch in period-specific contexts. More than simply discussing direct touch between bodies of the living and the dead, this chapter also outlines the broader theorisation of touch as a way of interpreting how bodies mediate the physical or conceptual gaps between what is present and tangible and what is absent or out-of-reach.

PART 1: PHENOMENOLOGY, EMBODIMENT, AND OPTIC REGIMES

Michele Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2002; first published 1970), although since challenged, differentiated between 'classical' and 'modern' constructions of knowledge. For Foucault, 'Renaissance' thought was predicated on identifying shared properties of natural and man-made worlds (veins like rivers; bones like rocks). Foucault viewed the 17th-century as a watershed moment movement from magic and superstition, to scientific observation and order as modes of knowledge and interpretation. Observation meant using sight as a method

of constructing knowledge, in which measurements became a standardised visual unit used to compare dimensions by looking.

However, he prioritises a form of sight in which other sensory contributions are almost shut down (Foucault, 2002). This approach has been heavily critiqued for treating the biological body as merely a docile object which passively receives the inscriptions of social discourses and overlooking the agency and materiality of the human body (e.g. Butler, 1988; 1990; 1993). It assumes the body is a pre-discursive, static, blank canvas simply awaiting social instruction. Foucault (1991 [1977]) refined his approach by concentrating on 'technologies of self'. He argued that physical bodies were enmeshed within power relations, particularly surveillance systems such as the Panopticon prison in London, which might be contested through bodily resistance. This placed a new emphasis on corporeality within optic regimes i.e. the body within a hierarchical gaze of other bodies. What is overt in Foucault's (1991 [1977]) work, however, is his emphasis on sight. In this framework, sight is the dominant and thus authoritative human sense creating and maintaining the power networks which bodies are subjected to. Foucault's incarcerated body exists by being seen or not seen; its physical presence or absence within visual landscapes.

Ocular-centric interpretations and methods are not a creation of phenomenological approaches in archaeology, but have been predicated upon the way archaeologists have engaged with the past through text and visual culture. Yet the role of sight as a method of knowledge construction was particularly foregrounded in phenomenological research of the 1990s, beginning with Tilley's (1994) highly influential study of Neolithic mortuary monuments. Tilley defined phenomenology for the archaeological academy as:

> "the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject. It is about the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-world. Being-in-the-world resides in a process of objectification in which people objectify the world by setting themselves apart from it. This results in a gap, a distance in space. To be human is both to create this distance between the self and that which is beyond and to attempt to bridge this distance through a variety of means - through perception ... bodily actions and movements, and intentionality, emotion and awareness residing in systems of belief and decision making, remembrance and evaluation." (Tilley, 1994, 12).

Since the 1990s, archaeological proponents of phenomenological theories and methods have largely based their approaches and interpretations on the visibility and inter-visibility of mortuary monuments within their original landscapes (e.g. Fleming, 2005, 930; Nash, 2008, 345). Yet, as an investigative method, intervisibility has received criticism for being too deterministic, subjective, and for applying modern assumptions retrospectively, particularly when no significant features are visible (Fleming, 1999; Bradley, 2000, 41-3; Nash, 2008, 345-6). How monuments and structures operated within an ocular economy of sight and proximity has been at the forefront of phenomenological research in archaeology. Indeed, the most vehement debates concerning the reliability of this approach have centred on whether or not monuments could actually be seen; the chronological development of these ocular networks across the landscape, and whether the visibility of monuments has been overblown by those determined to 'see' what they wanted to 'see' (see Fleming, 2007).

Emphases on visuality and visual culture have become increasingly focussed in archaeology, with churches and cathedrals providing a rich haul of textual and material evidence for such studies. For example, the significance of intervisibility and spatial connections within and

between different architectural spaces and chantry chapels (Roffey, 2004; 2007) or mortuary monuments (Finch, 2000) has been explored inside churches. A phenomenological approach has been applied to Byzantine church interiors, addressing the interplay of light, glass, ritual and religious icons (Nesbitt, 2012; 2013).

Giles (2007) addressed how the decorative elements of the nave in SS Peter & Paul's church, Pickering, were encountered by visitors from the late medieval period to the 16th century shift from Catholic to Protestant arrangements of sightlines, focal points, vantage points, and seating. However, rather than focussing on static sightlines between viewer and image, Giles (2007, 115) emphasised perambulative routes. She points to the rough-and-tumble of embodied motion within crowds as individuals jostled for better views of, for example, the Elevation of the Host. Although she is still emphasising an ocular approach, the physicality of gaining a sighted experience is foreground, allowing a deeper connection between sight and embodied experience.

Alternative Emphases: Monuments

There have, however, been important attempts to deviate from ocular-centricity by focussing on stone texture. For example, Cummings' (2002) attention to the textured microenvironments of prehistoric tombs in Scotland and Wales deliberately placed the haptic senses as central to understanding the sensory world of the British Neolithi*c.* Using a series of case study monuments, Cummings makes a simple division between 'rough' and 'smooth' stones versus 'left' and 'right', and ties this into the well-rehearsed binary of 'nature' and 'culture'. She considers the role of cup marks, inclusions of quartz and flint, and other coloured stones, and the transformative processes of weather and water, not only as creating texture but also a particular image.

Cummings also returns to the vistas available from different textured areas of the monuments. Thus sight and touch are entwined in her study, to the extent that hapticity seems to have been harnessed as additional proof that certain viewsheds were indeed significant because of the textures created around these thresholds in the monuments. Thus haptic exploration of Neolithic stone textures provided a fresh appraisal of familiar evidence.

Cummings (2002, 250-1) rightly points out the problem with outdoor monuments being weathered, worn, and harbouring recent lichens and mosses. She argues that most stones employed in chambered tombs were already lying in fields as boulders. Thus they were probably already weathered before being used in Neolithic construction projects. However, the weathering issue which may cloud tactile investigative methods of outdoor monuments is less likely to be a problem for cathedral monuments.

Alternative Emphases: Funerals

Building on Merleau-Ponty's (1958) synthesis on cognitive and psychological consciousness and perceptions of the subject's body 'being-in-the-world', phenomenological approaches to embodiment and sensory perceptions in archaeology explore also how past bodies encountered the dead in funerary contexts, with studies on Anglo-Saxon cremation (Williams, 2004a) and Roman inhumation funerals (Graham, 2011). By exploring the orchestration of environs as stimuli for the human senses and body movements, the physicality of the living body has begun to be recovered in studies such as these. Thus a sensory dynamic between the bodies of the living and dead has been foregrounded. While cadavers may be the foci of funerals, it is the potential emotive and sensory influence they elicit in the bodily experience of observers and funerary participants which is ultimately highlighted since the cadaver has no conscious experience of the event.

Alternative Emphases: Mortuary Archaeology and the Senses

Two recent publications on the senses have furthered and fostered how archaeologists may engage with the past. Skeates (2010) provided a sensory and emotive biography of Malta from 5200-700BC, in which he advocates reflexivity, inventorying a society's sensory profile, experimentation with the surviving environment by the archaeologist, 'thick description', and creative writing. This approach allowed him a sensorial investigation of prehistoric Maltese landscapes, dwellings, and natural features. Through this, Skeates explored the sensual experiences of its inhabitants over the *longue durée*. Such a wide chronological scope encourages archaeological biographies of the senses, synaesthesia, and emotional states linked with sensory encounters. However, Skeates tends to view the senses as passive receptors of external stimuli, rather than active agents of embodied experience with a material world. There remains great potential for a consideration of how sensory encounters were mediated by others through imposed social, ideological, and religious filters. How groups or individuals contested these sensory microboundaries or defined themselves in relation to certain sensory experiences or expectations offers a way of building upon Skeates' (2010) seminal work.

Hamilakis (2013) has recently provided an in-depth examination of archaeology's complex history of sighted and sensing scholarship. He examines the role of bodily senses as an investigative method in archaeology and as an important yet largely overlooked arena of activity in past societies. Hamilakis rightly points to the assumptions behind the work of Skeates (2010) and Tilley (e.g. 1991) that past societies operated in a modern, Western understanding of five senses (sight, sound, taste, smell, touch). That this has not been properly critiqued in a reflexive manner is raised to the fore in Hamilakis' own work. However, there is an equally troubling assumption in Hamilakis' two case studies on Bronze

Age Cretan necropolis' and palaces that the human body encountering these rich sensory environments was a fully-abled, adult body. There is also a question as to how many people would have encountered the sensory environments Hamilakis (2013, 129-90) examines.

Hamilakis' (2013) case studies, especially his treatment of Cretan funerals, are largely descriptive narrations of the various intermingling sensory triggers that were probably present. While this is indeed striking and stimulating to read, there does not appear to much more to explore as a result of these senses being triggered. A further issue with Hamilakis' (2013) work is how 'senses' automatically equate with 'emotional states'. This is of course a natural progression: certain sensory experiences will indeed create or provoke emotional memories and responses in humans. In this light, although Hamilakis spends most of his book discussing the role of the senses, what he is actually paving the way for is a coalition of the senses with identifying emotional, affective states of mind and being. This suggests a 'sense and sensitivity' approach, where the sensitivity of the physical body is used to trace the sensitivity of the intangible emotions within the body. Such an approach is a perfectly legitimate trajectory of research and one that should continue to be explored in all its richness by future sensorial archaeologies of the dead.

However, unlike prehistoric studies such as these, the various historic societies represented in English cathedrals are accompanied by contemporary accounts of corporeal-sensory perceptions. This provides a useful advantage for studies of the senses in historic periods, where contemporary perceptions may illuminate material traces. Such an advantage should be capitalised upon.

Alternative Emphases: Mortuary Archaeology and Emotions

Tarlow (2000; 2012) has already pointed out the deep need amongst archaeologists to problematise assumptive interpretations of 'emotion' as being simply biologically or culturally constructed, and thus embedded within a Western, Post-Enlightenment Cartesian dualism of mind/body, culture/nature. How emotions and emotional states were recognized, understood, and expressed in other societies requires a careful consideration of moods, feelings, external stimuli, affects, and personality (Tarlow, 2000, 714). While a comprehensive appraisal of all these aspects may be impossible for many arenas of evidence and periods of the past, her call to consider the complex, non-static, heterogeneity of emotion may allow archaeologists to "write three-dimensionally" about past societies (Tarlow, 2000, 720).

Crucially, Tarlow encourages attention towards physical interactions with the material world as innately linked with emotional states as a way of re-animating the tangible world with studies of less tangible emotions:

> "... the meaning of architecture, artifacts, or landscapes in the past is animated by the emotional understandings which inform their apprehension. A landscape may be a place of dread or of joy; an artefact may be a token of love or a mnemonic of oppression. Emotion, in short, is everywhere. Emotion is part of what makes human experience meaningful (just as meanings make experience emotional). Emotionless archaeologies are limited, partial, and sometimes hardly human at all." (Tarlow, 2000, 720).

Thus discussions of physical interaction have the potential for illuminating the difficult but gainful terrain of emotion and psychological states. This has already been undertaken in

studies of mourners attending funerals in Roman (Graham, 2010), Anglo-Saxon (Williams, 2007a+b), and recently, Bronze Age Cretan (Hamilakis, 2013, 129-90) contexts. These studies have gone beyond merely describing sensory stimuli by demonstrating its influence on the perceived agency of the dead during the funeral. They also highlight how emotion and sensory environments facilitated physical, spiritual, and/or psychological connections with the absent 'soul' of the deceased.

However, touch is far more complex than Hamilakis (2013) gives it credit, who characterises it as 'tactility'. Yet the ability to differentiate the textures of material things (tactility) is only one of the many attributes of the haptic system of the human body (Field, 2001, 76-7). The haptic senses also detect weight, proximity, temperature, vibration, and pressure (Field, 2001, 81-2). It is linked with physical pain or pleasure (Field, 2001, 85-9, 93-100, 135-46). Touch can leave a discernible trace on physical things (see Dent, 2014 for recent appraisal of touch impacting sculpture). In this study, these haptic residues are either still visible today or were documented by contemporaries. Touch is also enacted in a range of ways: stroking, kissing, lifting, gouging, scraping, hitting, incising, pushing, pulling etc. Repetitions of touch by many agents over time creates traceable erosion and staining, and encourage engagement with objects which bear signs of previous touching, directing others to do the same. Touch can also be conducted by groups as well as individuals, and thus collective actions need to be considered alongside haptic interactions of a single body.

Although Hamilakis (2013) advocates a synaesthetic approach, in which all the senses are combined, at such an embryonic stage in sensorial archaeology it might be wiser to identify one particular sense and see how it combines with others first. While prehistoric periods cannot directly reveal widespread perceptions of the senses and their relationship with the

human body, the various historic societies represented in English cathedrals are accompanied by contemporary accounts of corporeal-sensory perceptions.

What is even more overt is the nature of the 'here-and-now' created by phenomenological studies. Such approaches often deal only with the moment of interaction and are capable only of describing what may have happened during a short (and subjective) moment of time. Phenomenology in this context can shed light only on the fleeting moment; it is ultimately an archaeology of the temporary and elusive, since no two experiences are the same, no matter how carefully they are replicated. In direct contrast, this study returns to the *long dureé* approach; a mainstay of archaeological study and a suitable method of illuminating the accrual of repetitions of touch and its physical traces left on the dead in cathedrals.

PART 2: CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF TOUCH

The Power and Privilege of Touch and Knowledge

Period-specific studies of touch by historians and art historians have already illuminated the power hapticity had in past societies. Bloch's early examination of royal touch in medieval France and England is a prime example (Bloch, 1973; 1989). Bloch outlined how the healing touch of medieval kings was a powerful political mythology used by kings to compete with the healing touch offered by the clergy and their relics. The maintenance of this rite over 800 years demonstrated the sustained potency of touch and its role in legitimising the Divine nature of medieval royals and challenging the Church's supernatural authority centred on haptic rites (Bloch, 1989).

Siraisi (1990) also highlighted the importance of touch in medieval medical practice. For example, for some practitioners, feeling the pulse was not merely identifying an active

heartbeat but tapping into 'human music' (*musica humana*) (Siraisi, 1990, 127). This was produced by the body but different to audible sounds such as speech and song. It was considered an extension of 'world music' (*musica mundana*) which was the music of the spheres (Siraisi, 1990, 127). Only touch could access this deep rhythm of human music. Touch was also unique as it was able to identify the 'complexion' of human organs: their heat, dryness, wetness, or coldness (Siraisi, 1990, 102-3). These were relative temperatures and qualities which varied between age groups, races, and the individual organs. However, not all medical writers agreed with this theory since external temperatures during the autopsy would affect the perception of touch (Siraisi, 1990, 104).

What Siraisi's research indicates is the power of touch not only to heal but to ascertain hidden depths and properties of the physical body. It also reveals, if only sporadically, medical interest in handling the dead body not as a site of funerary rites but of corporeal epistemology. In a similar vein, Gail McMurray Gibson (1999) has written about the privileged touch of medieval female midwives during childbirth: an event of gender-taboos and ritual separation centred on seeing and touching the woman in labour.

More recently, Woolgar (2006) surveyed the human senses in late medieval England. Taking a 'cognitive archaeology' approach (Woolgar, 2006, 3) he mines evidence of the senses for information regarding thoughts, outlooks and perceptions. For Woolgar, touch highlighted bipolar concepts of power and transgression. It could express virtue or lechery (particularly kissing); sacredness or contamination; violence or consecration; morality or sensuality (Woolgar, 2006, 29-62). He also notes the fossilisation of left and right handedness from Classical sources in medieval England, by which touching with the left hand had the power to

signify or generate vice and the right hand, virtue (Woolgar, 2006, 28-32). Thus bodiliness and touch were intimately connected.

Accessing the power of charms, amulets, relics, and the sacraments was also dependant on touching them rather than just looking at them (Woolgar, 2006, 31-2, 41-5). Moreover, Woolgar (2006, 5-6) argues that two further 'senses' could be added to the medieval register: that of speech, which was considered a relative of taste; and the conveyance of holiness which was an elevated form of touch, such was its power. Although his volume is more of a thematic catalogue than a thesis, it presents a range of textual and material evidence to suggest the complex culture of touch in late medieval England, particularly the elite household.

Touch and Epistemology

The biological haptic system hardwired into every human body (albeit with varying degrees of ability per individual) allows us to perceive the world around us in a different but complimentary way to the other bodily senses of sight, smell, taste, and hearing (Field, 2001). But how the haptic system has been perceived and used to create knowledge and experiences depends on cultural context. For European intellectual societies, Daniel Heller-Roazen (2007) has traced the origins of medieval and modern sensory scholarship back to its Classical inheritance. He especially noted the widespread, long-standing influence of Aristotle's treatise *On the Soul* (*De Anima*) which identified and discussed the five senses, of which touch was considered the most acute.

Aristotle associated touch with intelligence because he considered it the one sense more heightened in humans than in animals (Heller-Roazen, 2007, 292-4). It subsequently became

sedimented in Classical and medieval scholarship, and has been returned to time and again in the Western academy at least (Heller-Roazen, 2007, 292-4). Heller-Roazen follows this notion in the works of classical Greek and Roman writers, their medieval Latin, Arabic and Hebrew inheritors, through to (early) modern writers, thinkers, and practitioners in psychiatry, neurology, philosophy, literature, and science, including Montaigne, Francis Bacon, Locke, Leibniz, Rousseau, Walter Benjamin and Proust.

As such, he demonstrates how touch has played a pivotal but vastly overlooked role in European concepts of sentience over its *longue durée*. Indeed, Heller-Roazen considers touch the 'sense of sentience' because it generates an awareness and confirmation that we are alive and awake. In distillation of his expansive scope and argument, he emphasises how external touch creates an inner awareness, so that we actually *feel* we are alive.

Until at least the 18th century, touch was considered the sense for checking and verifying what could be seen because it gave solidity to the general impressions delivered by the other senses (Mandrou, 1976, 53). Touch also retrieved information from the physical world that the other senses could not deliver (Classen, 2007, 901). Because of the Biblical account of the risen Christ asking Thomas to touch his wounds so he would believe, hapticity was also loaded with a sense of God-given certainty and the intangibility of belief and thought could be verified through touch (Classen, 2007, 900).

Hans Sloane, the 18th century President of the Royal Society and a Natural historian, established the British Museum in 1753 using his collection of over 70,000 objects during his extensive travels in the West Indies and through trade and exchange, and these formed the basis of the British Museum (Candlin, 2010, 65). According to Candlin (2010, 68), Sloane

"used touch, smell and taste as a means of identifying and describing objects and, more importantly, touch formed part of his classifactory system. The texture of objects was used to structure knowledge about the world and to generate rational, empirical knowledge."

Candlin (2010, 68-9) bolsters this by pointing to the British empirical philosopher John Locke and his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689). Sloane and Locke were both members of the Royal Society and occasionally wrote to each other (Candlin, 2010, 68). Candlin's (2010, 69) reading of Locke indicates he believed only certain qualities of the physical world could be accessed by one of the human senses, and touch was a primary sense, held in higher esteem than smell, taste and hearing, which were considered less reliable because of their subjectivity. Touch could identify texture and weight, which in turn suggested, for example, shape, quantity, composition, distance, and capacity; which in turn suggested potential movement, space, and an understanding of the space it did or could inhabit (Candlin, 2010, 69). "While sight could also comprehend these qualities, only touch could perceive solidity" (Candlin, 2010, 69). Handling archaeological remains was not only a personalising, intimate experience for the early museum visitor, but a classificatory method for antiquarian researchers.

Touch, sight and gendered knowledge and labour

The reality of gender-specific constructions of knowledge through sight (male) or touch (female) has been debated amongst feminist historians and art historians. Constance Classen (1998) argued that "women have traditionally been associated with the sense [of touch] in Western culture, and in particular the lower senses" whereas men "have been associated with reason, as opposed to the senses, or else with sight and hearing as the most 'rational' of the senses" (Classen, 1998, 1-2). Fisher (2002) has also argued that ocular-centric approaches to

the tangible world have been privileged, and should be viewed (from an art historical perspective) as a masculinist approach. Conversely, haptic approaches have been harnessed by feminist approaches to material culture as an alternative to patriarchal models of art history.

Candlin (2010) focuses on the use of touch in the evolution of art history and studies of English museums. She points to the influence of major mid-20th century art historians such as Rigel, Wölfflin, and Panofsky, who viewed touch as a primitive, child-like, non-rational, pre-modern method of exploring and understanding the art world, compared to the sophistication and rationality of employing vision. For Candlin (2010, 3) haptic exploration of art is attractive because it is "multiple, experiential, and does not totalise" unlike optic engagements. How touch has been used to construct knowledge and classify evidence in 18th and 19th century society was evidently divided not only between sight and touch (amongst other senses), but between masculine and feminine interactions with the physical world and the epidemiologies this engendered.

Candlin (2010) uses two publications by John Ruskin, an English mid-19th century commentator on art, history and restoration: *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851). Candlin's (2010, 35) reading of Ruskin suggests Ruskin viewed touch as civilised and rational, with Gothic architecture as an inherently masculine product, derived from northern European 'massy power of men', a 'mountain brotherhood' who 'broke rocks for bread' and 'cleared the forest for fire'. Ruskin saw hand-labour, a tactile power, as a male force which Candlin (2010, 35) argues was contextualised and justified by Ruskin as existing within "a patriarchal, socially stable and feudal England". Candlin (2010, 36-7) also draws upon Adrian Stokes' *Stones of Rimini* (1934), one of the British art critic's

famous essays. Stokes viewed all touch as a crucial refining process for sculpture, therefore the casual touch of passer-byes, stray animals, even vermin, on public statues were just as significant as the sculptors original handling of it. Therefore, everyone who came into physical contact with sculptures contributed to their form. For Stokes, the attrition of stonework through haptic erosion and weathering is the only way sculpture can truly emerge. However, according to Candlin (2010, 37-9), both Ruskin and Stokes saw sculpture as an inherently masculine form of touch. Stokes differentiated between 'moulding' (female) and 'carving' (male), and between the (male) stone-carver and the (female) raw stone which, for Stokes, bring forth a child in the form of the sculpture. Stokes refers to sculpting tools having a 'masculine' shape whereas women simply 'mould' rather than carve for Stokes, 'moulding' replicates life but cannot generate life like carving can (Candlin, 2010, 37-9, 50). Candlin (2010, 50) points out that vision is not referred to by either Ruskin or Stokes for moulding or carving nor is sight seen as 'lower' or 'higher' than touch. Rather, touch is a skill and a sign of (male) expertise; "…touch is not associated with women's work because it is a lowly sense, but that touch is deemed to be lowly when it is associated with women's work." (Candlin, 2010, 50-1). For Candlin (2010, 51), Ruskin viewed touch as "a consolidation of paternalistic attitudes" whereas Stokes saw touch as "a celebration of male creativity".

According to Candlin (2010, 30) men in 18th and 19th century England also had touch-based vocations as sculptors, weavers and craftsmen. Candlin uses this to contest Classen's (1998) assertion that haptic explorations of the world were uniquely female in 18th-19th century England, where women were employed in 'touch-crafts' of sewing, weaving, and beading. Classen (1998) had contrasted the tactility of female space with masculine visual space. Although Classen recognised that men could be involved in touch-crafts, she argued that the male-sight/female-touch dichotomy still prevailed both symbolically and as a social structure,

particularly as those male symbolists engaged in non-visual practices were appropriating female experiences. Candlin (2010, 30) contended that this means denying touch can be an inherent male power as well: "…once concepts of touch are acknowledged to be culturally constructed, touch can be construed as masculine, feminine, androgynous or intersexual without recourse to notions of appropriation." (Candlin, 2010, 51).

Classen's and Candlin's debate regarding the gender significance of touch versus sight highlights the cultural-construction of touch rather than an assumed binary division of touch/sight based on biological sex; at least in 18th and 19th-century contexts. Candlin's argument that denying touch is a potent contributor to a gender-constructed sub-culture of touch/sight provides a theoretical avenue overlooked by archaeologists engaging in haptic studies. In a cathedral context, the privilege and denial of touch may go beyond the well-rehearsed concept of spiritual elitism and religious veneration. The haptic cultures created and abandoned in English cathedrals, which centre on the remains of the dead and their monuments, may require a gendered consideration of appropriate touch which impacted the wider theological notions of living encounters with the (special) dead through touch/sight.

Touch, Violence, and Pain

When assessing the role of violent touch in mortuaryscapes, the role of pain and punishment of the body, as understood and enacted by a particularly society, should be considered (e.g. Graves, 2008). While judicial forms of disfigurement reflect institutionalised and socially acceptable corporeal violence, the role of casual violence against the body and its representations may also involve the informal transgression of sexual boundaries or attacks on hyper-sensitive body parts generally left untouched on living bodies. Moreover, the age, and mental and psychological state of those enacting violence against various types of bodies

(e.g. living, fleshed cadavers, skeletal remains, effigies) may also influence the type and intensity of the damage.

Studies of touch and pain offer a direction for interpreting surviving material of iconoclastic damage to effigies, which left representational bodies in a state of 'pain'. This links with the cultural and gendered significance of bodily violence in periods of State-sanctioned iconoclasm of effigies. By exploring the relationship between violence and violating forms of touch, we can expand the material currently discussed in relation to pain and violence to include the cathedral mortuaryscape as well.

Touch and Religion

It has been suggested that the least socially tactile modern nations, particularly Canada, USA, Great Britain, Holland, and Sweden (the more northerly areas of the Northern Hemisphere) is due to the Protestant, Puritanical roots of these nations (Field, 2001, 26). Field (2001, 26) argues that the relatively sexually uninhibited climate of Sweden is at odds with their Protestant history and also at odds with their inhibitions towards touch in public. In contrast, the Greeks and Italians, identified as the most socially tactile European nations, have been framed by a long history of Greek Orthodox and Catholic belief and practice, respectively (Field, 2001, 26). The role of religion in the culture of touch is therefore influential but not definitive. In this light, the role of touch – both violent and venerative – must be historically and culturally contextualised, particularly when the evidence is situated within an explicitly religious framework. A simple dichotomy of 'Catholic' (haptic) versus 'Protestant' (touch-phobic) interactions with the tangible world is unhelpful and potentially misleading. The importance of understanding how religion impacts or creates cultures of touch in a society is particularly relevant to a study of touch within churches. In a study of the *longue durée* of

interactions with the Christian dead, the influence of Catholicism and Protestantism on the aims and etiquettes of touch is worthy of deeper exploration.

Touch and Architecture

Religion and gender may not be the only social indices contributing to a particular haptic culture. Paul Rodaway's (1994) exploration of sensory engagements with the material world derives from cultural geography. The human senses are explored chapter by chapter: haptic, olfactory, auditory, and visual, thus situating touch within other bodily senses. Rodaway (1994, 41-60) first presents a theoretical overview of touch particularly the role of haptic senses for the visually impaired. For Rodaway (1994, 4, 52) the senses make and define places and spaces, and provide navigational clues for that space as much as sight does. Rather than centring gender as the key construct for haptic spaces, Rodaway argues that:

> "The haptic experience is also one of both stationary objects and movement within and across space. Through touch we not only have access to the material world, but also to a living one, through the haptic system we are able to discern the living from the dead, the friend from the foe and, above all, ourselves within the context of an immediate world. Touch gives us a place in a world" (Rodaway, 1994, 44).

This is equally extendable to considerations of how touch gives the dead a place in the world, particularly within the world of each successive generation who inherits the dead. Rather than abstract indices of culturally-constructed gender identities emphasised by Classen, Fisher, and Candlin; Rodaway situates haptic culture within the corporeality of the physical body, the tangible spaces it accesses, and the movement of that body between spaces and across time. But like the control of sound, control of touch need not equate with less attention being paid

to it. Not being able to touch things is control, but it also creates a sensory focus, in religious and other contexts. Nonetheless, for a study addressing the *longue durée* of cathedral burial and commemoration, and the movement of both living and dead bodies around this space – a space defined in part by its mortuaryscape – Rodaway's approach is particularly useful.

Touch, Absence and Presence

James Gibson's (1986) theory of affordances argued that meaning is 'afforded' the individual through their physical interaction with their environment, rather than through disembodied thought. Gibson sought to bridge the structuralist gap between subject and object by emphasising the connection *between* object and subject as the place where knowledge is generated. Thus object surfaces 'affords' or offers the subject a real-world, physical perception even though it is socially constructed. While Gibson's (1986) approach has been criticised for failing to move beyond adult able-bodied males and sighted experiences (Hetherington, 2003, 1938-9), the concept of affordances suggests an important epistemological juncture may have occurred between touch and surface in mortuary contexts. Moreover, touch is a way of confirming and authenticating what has or has not been seen by the eye, including the absent thing it evidences (Hetherington, 2003, 1940). Touch does not automatically establish the truth of what is being handled, but it confirms our own presence in reality "that we are here, too, experiencing this, that this is how we feel […] The absent has a geography- a surrounding that implies both presence and present. That we can know this through touch is not surprising." (Hetherington, 2003, 1940).

Gabriel Josipovici (1996) takes a literary approach to hapticity, noting how throughout (European) history, from the Middle Ages to the modern day, touch has created and sustained communication and connection between humans, allowing us to feel 'at home' in the physical

world. He uses the term '*praesentia'* (Josipovici, 1996, 58-61) to describe the action of touching the traces or representation of something that is absent and thus Other. For example, when Josipovici asked a friend of his while he had felt so compelled to touch the antiquities encountered in Rome, he responded: "I suppose touching something confirms its presence" (Josipovici, 1996, 59). *Praesentia*, then, is a way of touching the physical remains of an intangible past. Peter Brown (1981, 86-105) had already used '*praesentia'* in reference to people touching relics in Late Antiquity. For Brown (1981, 88), haptic engagement with the human remains and material culture ascribed to a saint was a way for people to actually 'meet' the saint, who was fully present in their surviving fragments or brandea (cloths which had touched a saint's remains).

Moreover, *praesentia* in saints' cults was heightened by the physical distance which had to be covered in order to touch relics (Brown, 1981, 88-9). This was the pilgrimage journey itself, which generated longing and delayed gratification, and the barriers (screens, grilles, locked doors et*c.*) that might surround the relics which the pilgrim had to overcome upon arrival at the shrine (Brown, 1981, 88-9). "The carefully maintained tension between distance and proximity ensured one thing: *praesentia,* the physical presence of the holy… was the greatest blessing a … Christian could enjoy" (Brown, 1981, 88). Thus touch culture in Christian saintly cults was intimately connected with the physical distance between the individual and the relic, and (following Josipovici) the conceptual distance between the presence of the tangible remains and the intangible past they belonged to.

This concept of distance and touch takes a more nuanced form in Hetherington's (2003) exploration of epistemological touch in modern museums. Hetherington refers to 'proximal' and 'distal' forms of knowledge. Proximal knowledge is gained from sensory, refracted, up-

close, non-sighted forms of engagement with the material world (Hetherington, 2003, 1934-6). Conversely, distal knowledge (and ontology) is established through viewing 'assumed… stable and finished' products at a relative distance to proximal encounters (Hetherington, 2003, 1934).

Following an interview with 'Sarah', a partially-sighted touch-tour guide at the British Museum, Hetherington notes how her haptic "experience is more performatively aware" (2003, 1935) and how touch "can often reveal something about how an object was made that the eye cannot know, it makes apparent; it performs, in partial perspective no doubt, the artist's touch." (Hetherington, 2003, 1936). What we touch, touches us back and thus touch-tours do not explore museums within the ordered narrative of signboards and spatial cues, but breakout into more sensual, synaesthetically-guided encounters with the collections (Hetherington, 2003, 1935-6). However, the intimacy of proximal touch is vulnerable to violation when bodies, objects (and monuments) are touched in an unacceptable manner (Hetherington, 2003, 1936-7).

Hetherington's (2003, 1940) use of *praesentia* emphasises the performative nature of touching things that are present, rather than representational knowledge explained in images and texts. *Praesentia* was not only the pinnacle of long pilgrimages to distant sacred sites, but when relics were retrieved by the pilgrims and installed in local settings, they were bringing the absent person even closer (Brown, 1981, 91)."A translated object had the power not only to be present and therefore to be available to both vision and touch but also to touch those in its proximity and to absolve them in the process […] The distant becomes near, the immaterial is made material" (Hetherington, 2003, 1940). It is these haptic qualities of the

human remains and monuments of the dead, pre and post-Reformation, which are the subjects of this study of cathedral mortuaryscapes.

Archaeological Engagement with Absence/Presence

Reconstructing the absent, intangible past from physically present remains has been the underlying principle of archaeology since its inception. The techniques and theoretical frameworks used to reanimate each generation's versions of the past have certainly matured over the last two centuries. Relative and absolute dating systems, paleopathological analysis and our understanding of cultural and natural transforms affecting the survival and recovery of archaeological evidence all advanced significantly in the twentieth century.
Similarly, the appropriation and re-invention of theoretical devices and viewpoints from related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences have brought maturation to interpretations of archaeological evidence from a variety of political, social, economic and religious standpoints. Archaeology is now conducted in ways unimaginable to our antiquarian forebears of the 18th and 19th centuries. Yet the intertwined concept of physical presence fuelling reconstruction of an absent past continues to structure archaeology.

Absence/Presence has only begun to receive focussed scholarly attention in archaeology in the last 15 years, especially the last five years (e.g. Buchli & Lucas, 2001a&b; Bille et al., 2010; Hockey et al., 2010; Meyer & Woodthorpe, 2008; Meyer, 2012; Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014). These are often heavily informed by case studies from the contemporary past and anthropological frameworks, with reference to semiotics and materiality. Constructions of space and place through the absence/presence of material remains and the abandonment and ruination of these arenas are a common theme. Thus the cultural value and archaeological potential of ruined places often takes priority.

Absence/Presence and Heterotopias

Meyer & Woodthorpe (2008), taking Foucault's 'heterotopias' as their lead, argue that museums and cemeteries both transcend absence by making absence present. They call for a reconsideration of segregating categories of 'heritage studies' (museums) and 'death studies' (cemeteries) since both type sites offer a mixture of the mundane and sacred; the everyday and the outside-of-time experience. Moreover, both museums and cemeteries "are shaped by - and built upon - … making the absent present" (Meyer & Woodthorpe, 2008, 13).

> "In a museum and a cemetery we can 'feel', 'see', and 'hear' absence. In cemeteries, we are confronted with absence in the loss of people, (re)presented through the commemorative practice of using toys for example. In museums, we are confronted with the absence of the 'world out there' and/or the 'world that once was'. Both sites, hence, do something to and something with the absent – transforming, freezing, materialising, evoking, delineating, enacting, performing, and remembering the absent … Thus, absence has agency, in some guise or form." (Meyer & Woodthorpe, 2008, 13).

Thus Meyer and Woodthorpe highlight the importance of considering the physicality of the dead and the past in tandem, through comparisons between mortuaryscapes and museums. This goes beyond haptic practice being merely concerned with types of touch and suggests hapticity is about what can and cannot be touched. Naturally this limits exploration to the dawn of the museum in the early modern Western world. Nonetheless, the principle of aligning contemporary interactions with the past with contemporary interactions with the dead is capable of transcending a medieval/post-medieval divide. Harnessing the way a society perceived and physically responded to their own archaeological collections, whether in a formal modern museum setting or in a cathedral with a collection of 'ancient'

monuments and finds from excavations, presents abundant comparanda for the way the 'ancient' dead were also treated.

Hockey et al. (2010) discussed modern death, absence, and presence in Western mortuary places such as hospitals, hospices, cemeteries, and other places where people have died or their bodies can be viewed. The ethics of palliative care, the political nature of memorialisation, and interaction with death sites as part of bereavement strategies were richly supplemented with theological, sociological, and anthropological discourses. Rather than focussing on ruination, Hockey (et al., 2010) situated the absence/presence of the deceased within the physical and conceptual spaces left behind in which the living encounter them tangibly and intangibly. Morgan Meyer (2012) has argued that absence does not exist as a separate entity but only comes into existence within relational networks between assemblages of material culture and people, taking an Actor-Network approach to absence/presence. Therefore, absence must be materialised or presenced through interactions, rather than assuming absence exists *a priori*. In this light, the material culture of death and the physical remains of the dead themselves present opportunities to trace the intangible nature of the absent bodies they represent.

There are degrees of absence and presence, however. A bipolar categorisation of these two interlinked concepts may be in danger of veiling more complex scenarios. Death is a form of absence since the living, functioning person is absent, and this absence is undeniably universal since it is a key definition of physical death. Yet the cadaver left behind remains a physical presence, despite life being absent. If the cadaver is mummified or conserved for display, this physical presence endures within the world of the living. However, burying or scattering cremated remains usually hides the physical presence in a deliberately inaccessible

place or unrecoverable state. Upon this event, the deceased becomes physically absent from the living.

Yet the absence of their physical remains does not necessarily negate a cultural belief that the dead may remain 'present' among the living. Their presence may be signified by curating items belonging to or created by the deceased whilst alive, such as locks of hair, pieces of clothing or jewellery with meaning significant to the mourners. This may be in conjunction with more immediate media, such as painted or sculpted portraiture or photographs of the deceased. Simultaneously, these artefacts can also operate as sites of loss and absence: a reminder of the person who is no longer present as a living individual. Their presence may only exist in a fragmentary state via tokens and memories of an absent person. Thus absence and presence are not necessarily opposite ends of a spectrum but rather two sides of a very thin coin.

Regarding mortuary monumentality such as tombs, headstones, wall and floor memorials, absence/presence is equally complex. At its simplest, the mortuary monument marks the physical presence of hidden human remains below or within it. While the cadaver may be buried in front of the headstone, within the tomb or under the floor, it is the monument which stands above ground, signposting the presence of the dead beneath. But this is not always the case, as exemplified by cenotaphs erected in lieu of a body. Similarly, wall memorials inside churches and cathedrals are rarely directly located above the commemorated body.

This is partly due to the relocation of both bodies and memorials throughout the life of a church or cathedral. Moreover, wall memorials may often be a secondary commemorative piece placed inside a church or cathedral, while the deceased is buried elsewhere with a

primary memorial, such as the churchyard, a public cemetery, a different church or in another geographical region altogether. Given the disconnections between bodies and wall memorials or cenotaphs, how may we proceed with this degree of absence?

A more 'venereal' approach to touch is required, not in terms of pleasure and arousal as much as intimacy and sociality, and an awareness of how touch has been sexualised and tabooed. Considerations of what are 'respectful' and 'disrespectful' treatments of the dead are vital to exploring this. This is not only relevant to the ethics and reburial debate, and how we display the dead, but also how we dig and study them, discuss and visualise them.

PART 3: A HAPTIC APPROACH

One mode of examination is to explore the way in which the post-funerary dead and their monuments were very literally handled. What can and cannot be touched leads to physical mediation of absence and presence. Rather than reconstructing funerary rites, burial demographics, or interpreting monument symbolism, this approach focuses on taboos and tolerances affecting how the remains of the dead and their monuments could be physically touched and handled, by whom, in what context, and for what purpose.

This means examining how bodies and monuments have been stroked, kissed, broken, battered, dismantled, rebuilt, graffitied, clipped, scraped, stolen and retrieved by successive generations. It considers tactile responses to the bodiliness of the dead instead of abstract identities codified in symbols and text on a monument or expressed through grave-goods and grave-clothes. It stimulates interest in how haptic access to the post-burial dead was arranged and controlled by the cathedral. This is mirrored in how it was received by parishioners, pilgrims, visitors, caretakers, builders, and researchers.

Handling the post-burial dead could occur in many circumstances. For example, it may occur during excavation within and beyond the cathedral; during grave-ransacking; building-work; re-burials, tomb-openings and translations; in relic cults; and as part of mortuary tourism. Similarly, monuments of the dead have been exposed to curious, respectful, appropriating, and violent forms of touch from visitors, sanctuary-seekers, pilgrims, thieves, curators, and iconoclasts throughout the centuries. Pieces have been deliberately broken off monuments for myriad reasons; they have been graffitied, kissed, and stroked; brasses have been clipped and gems stolen from effigies.

Handling the dead, their monuments, and artefacts attributed to them, was also a method of interrogating the veracity of their ascribed identity and the period they were supposed to have lived in. Haptic examination was particularly potent in past societies which lacked forensic techniques for dating the past or identifying human remains.

For example, 'scrutinies' were conducted by pre-Reformation clergy to ascertain whether the bones in a shrine or a burial were really those of a supposed saint (see Riley, 1867, 86 for the excavation of St Amphibalus at St Albans; Stubbs, 1874, 414 for the scrutiny of St Dunstan by Canterbury; Hallett, 1901, 11 for the scrutiny of St Wilfrid at Ripon). It was not a time of veneration but of documenting evidential traces which could link the bones with known elements of their hagiography or past interferences with the shrine. In 1251, monk Matthew Paris witnessed the clearance of the old monk's cemetery at St Albans (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 199). Much of Paris' account focuses on estimating the age of the bones, which he and his cohort worked out was *c.*180 years old, by comparing the different levels of bleaching noted on some very white bones which also had shoes in their graves (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 199). The privilege of being allowed to touch the bodies and monuments of the

‘special’ dead could provide knowledge, expertise, and/or Divine contact that elevated the mortal individual. Conversely, there was the pragmatic undertaking of disinterring regular graves during periods of building work, clearance campaigns, or when burial space was limited.

Evidence of Haptic Encounters with the Cathedral Dead

The variety of haptic encounters with the real and representational dead is legion. As will become apparent, the motives and meanings underpinning each practice are equally vast and multi-layered. However, touch is capable of leaving an array of archaeological evidence. Repeated touching of mortuary monuments has left patterns of staining, high polish, and/or polychromy erosion on effigies, tomb edges, decorative elements, and lines of text. There are also distinctive examples of deliberate gouges, graffiti, and clipping. The physical exertion of iconoclasts has left myriad traces of bladed force against effigial body parts. Documentary sources such as cathedral chapter acts, contemporary historians, writers and commentators; and even the iconoclasts themselves, provide complementary evidence of people physically engaging with monuments. While it can be difficult to differentiate between accidental and deliberate damage in some cases, the wealth of accompanying written material indicate deliberate theft and breakage is not easily dismissed.

Skeletal remains still housed above-ground may present the brown staining and polished surface indicative of repeated handling (Buckland, 1882, 176). For more specific evidence of human remains being touched, however, we can turn to the numerous images and texts produced by successive generations documenting their encounters with bones, teeth, hair, flesh, fingernails, blood, and even the effluvia of the post-burial dead. Many of the pre-Reformation relic cults and excavations of saints, grave-ransackings of the 16th and 17th

centuries, tomb openings of the 18th and 19th centuries, and modern archaeological concerns with ethical handling of human remains, have been documented in word and image. As with the monumental evidence, they have yet to be considered as a group of haptic mortuary practices centred on the remains of the dead.

These tactile acts on monuments and human remains involve either the direct touch of hands and lips, or tools and weapons held in the hands. Both constitute evidence of touch. Both are archaeologically and historically traceable. The physical residues and documented perceptions of touch are rich seams of evidence within the walls and pages of cathedral histories which have yet to be mined. As this chapter will demonstrate, the rise in haptic studies within biology, psychology, anthropology, literature, and history has already indicated the importance of examining touch in past and present societies. Although archaeology has made only sporadic, keyhole surgery-style contributions (see below), it too has begun to identify how touch has impacted not only past societies, but the evolution of methods and theories within the discipline.

Since archaeology is based on interactions and understandings of physical remains of the past, both present and absent, touch has played a crucial but largely under-examined role in this field of study. Current themes and trends in haptic studies have potential for deepening archaeology's input into this discourse. Archaeological interest in absence and presence, phenomenology and the senses, materiality and corporeality have already placed the discipline in a prime position for examining haptic practice. The approach in this thesis and in future appraisals of disturbed graves, dislocated remains, and damaged monuments may be framed within cultures of touch, particularly those centred on the dead.

Considering 'English' Touch Cultures

Touch also has a cognitive value for creating knowledge of the physical world. In the 18th and 19th century, English society was viewed by foreign commentators as highly touch-centric. Yet late 20th-century England was listed amongst the most touch-phobic societies of the world. There is no simple or homogeneous 'English' culture of touch. Period-specific haptic studies are therefore more common amongst historians. This allows them to link touch with specific texts and records, and the mindsets expressed by that generation. It also is symptomatic of historical approaches more generally, which tend to focus on shorter, discrete periods of the past compared to archaeology.

A *long dureé* approach, exploring the evolution of touch and repetitions and routines of touch within English mortuary culture may provide a greater understanding of cycles and tropes of haptic practice. Different generations have affected and been affected by the boundaries of acceptable haptic engagement. This has not only shifted over time but was (and still is) internally diverse within and between different age groups, genders, social classes, religions, ethnicities, professions, and other social factors. However, rather than focussing on interpersonal touch dynamics amongst the living, this study initiates a consideration of haptic dynamics between the living and the dead. Touch-phobic societies have been noted as having a different relationship with the interiors of public and private spaces to touch-centric societies. This suggests cathedral interiors and their mortuaryscapes may have been handled differently as cultures of touch came and went over the centuries. The epistemology generated by haptic culture in past societies has begun to be foregrounded particularly in early modern sensorial histories of museums (e.g. Classen, 2007; Candlin, 2010). It has also begun to be re-considered as a methodology in modern museums for both visitors and researchers (e.g. Pye, 2007; Dudley, 2010; 2012).

Spotlighting Touch

Mills (2014) has recently addressed the sense of sound and hearing in isolation through empirical recordings of soundscapes and anthropological parallels at prehistoric sites in Europe. This approach allowed a specific understanding of human-human, human-animal, and human-architectural/Environmental dynamics within and between spaces.

Similarly, touch can be singled out for focussed attention because it has already been shown to have a significant impact on how a society creates knowledge and orchestrates human interaction. It may designate gender roles. It also defines physical human interaction, its proxemics (the spatial codes dictating proximity between humans and other bodies or material culture), etiquettes and taboos. It influences the design of private residences and public buildings and how groups and individuals are orchestrated by architecture. Touch helps humans mentally and emotionally navigate the physical world, particularly in lieu of other senses being absent or impaired. While all the human senses are capable of being enhanced when one or more is lacking, and all human senses contribute, in various ways, to human interaction with others and the physical world, touch is capable of leaving direct physical traces behind which the other senses cannot.

Considering Touch and Other Senses

Although touch is prioritised in this study of mortuary damage, it would be naive to ignore the role of sight and other senses such as sound. Indeed, hand-eye co-ordination is evidenced in all four forms of damage addressed. The eye attracts the visitor to the monument they wish to touch and then tothe area of that monument. They may or may not look at the monument as they touch it. Graffiti, iconoclasm and, tokenism all require hand-eye co-ordination: eyes are used to select the target and guide the hand holding the implement. But other bodily

senses may have also been influential. Haptic sensations of kinesthesia, texture, pressure, and the temperature of the materials may have guided the hand and influenced where the eye gazed.

Iconoclasm and tokenism – both forms of violent touch – would allow the visitor to feel vibrations as their tool, weapon, or cane hit the body, burial or monument. Those retrieving pieces of bodies and monuments would use their fingers to snap-off bits of an effigy, skull fragments, or tomb edges. When living, moving bodies meet monumental, static bodies, other senses were likely invoked. Liquids could be tasted, monuments kissed, and the smell of the dead could be an indication of their sainthood. However, not all bodies and monuments required these other sensory systems. Hearing, smell, and taste may not be priority senses for interacting with the dead, but sight and touch were, and still are.

Evidence of sight, hearing, smell, taste (etc.) may be signified by external apparatus such as sightlines, acoustic evidence or musical instruments, incense burners, food stuffs for example. These devices provide valuable but indirect evidence of what people were perhaps seeing, hearing, smelling or tasting. However, these senses, once experienced by a now absent body, are not actually present. We simply have the sensory apparatus or vehicles from which we may attempt to reconstruct the original sensory environment. Touch, however, can leave direct traces and imprints of the absent body's contact with the physical world. There is an immediacy to evidence of, for example, haptic erosion, fingerprints, staining or breakage. The absent body is presenced through these residues of touch in an arguably more immediate manner than the other senses. From an archaeological perspective, evidence of the actual moment of (repeated) contact between (past) human bodies and surfaces, provides physical evidence which the discipline is so adept at investigating.

Direct Touch

The most obvious form of touch is direct contact using the fingers, and there is certainly evidence of haptic erosion created by repeatedly stroking areas of certain tombs. The role of kissing, particularly kissing effigies, is also considered. However, this form of intimate, gentle, direct touch should be contextualised within other forms of aggressive, even violent touch on monuments, often facilitated by the use of weapons, tools or other implements. Three distinct areas of this aggressive, mediated touch are therefore also explored: iconoclasm, graffiti, and tokenism. While iconoclasm, particularly in English ecclesiastical contexts, has received long-standing appraisal by historians and art historians, archaeologists have paid less attention to monument iconoclasm, with a few exceptions, such as Graves (2008).

Scholarship surrounding graffiti in churches, while less prolific, has been far more archaeological in its methodology and interpretation. Yet understanding the motivations and meanings surrounding this practice is hazy. It has also been dominated by medieval examples, with less archaeological interest in post-medieval examples of graffiti even though these are numerous and often easier to identify (e.g. Champion, 2012). Moreover, the search for (medieval) graffiti has centred on identifying and recording it (e.g. Pritchard, 1967), with less emphasis amongst archaeologists on interpreting it as a cultural form of expression. Welcome exceptions to this include Matthew Champion's (2012) connection between medieval votive offerings and graffiti, and Kate & Melanie Giles' (2007) work on 19th and early 20th century graffiti in Yorkshire farmsteads and its gendered, didactic role in agricultural apprenticeships.

Differentiating between accidental, opportunistic, and pre-meditated damage is extremely difficult (and often impossible) to discern. Without detailed, specific, reliable contemporary sources documenting the damage, it is mere guesswork. This study does not, therefore, seek to catalogue potential motives for every act of defacement or destruction. Instead of asking *why* it was done, it starts with the *aftermath* of the destructive act and asks: what was done about it? How was it received and what tangible, curatorial responses did it trigger? Does the material evidence suggest curation was contested or bolstered? These questions are at the centre of this study.

Conclusion

Hetherington's findings for museum spaces and ways of knowing through touch have potential resonance for haptic explorations of cathedral interiors, particularly with the above-ground dead. In a cathedral context, the synaesthetically-guided encounters with the monuments and remains of the dead should be considered, beyond the more traditional interest in the 'official' sighted routes for pilgrims through a cathedral (e.g. Blick, 2001; 2011; Tatton-Brown, 2002; Wells, 2011). Combining Hetherington's notion of proximal/distal touch with an understanding of touch as physical and conceptual distance between the living and an absent person and intangible past (i.e *praesentia*: Josipovici, 1996; Brown, 1981) provides a prime avenue of research for the handling of the cathedral dead.

At all three scales, presence, absence, and touch are interlinked. A monument may be physically absent but our imagination may fill in the gaps as we touch the architectural scars left behind. Handling a human skull, tracing incised graffiti, or stroking the mutilated hands of an effigy which suffered the iconoclast's blade, may generate a narrative, an image, an interpretation of the absent person who owned the skull, or inscribed the graffiti, or struck the

effigy. It may simply stimulate our imaginings of how many others have also touched this exact object over the generations. Touch has a capacity to arouse and animate the absent. Objects and remains bearing evidence of historic damage do not merely speak of the past or the item's biography, but can solicit a sensual, visceral engagement with it. A haptic approach is therefore not limited to things that are physically present but alerts us to how the absent was encountered, narrated, and curated. Haptic-centred studies also foster an understanding of embodied experiences of past generations who handled the remains of the dead left to decay and/or to posterity.

Studies of haptic culture have revealed a range of ways in which touch was understood, enacted, and considered appropriate or transgressive, moral or impure, empowering and exclusive. Touch impacts literal and symbolic power networks, gender relations, inter-personal dynamics, psychological development, social etiquette, interior design, and scales of architectural space. These, and undoubtedly many more, aspects of touch-phobic and touch-centric communities have been investigated. They provide important illuminations on the role played by touch in constructing past and present societies and the bodies living in them. To begin this investigation, we start with the earliest evidence amongst the five cathedrals: haptic experiences of the saints and their shrines.

Chapter 4: Haptic Experiences of the Saints

"You tell me of dark riches."

Menedemus responding to tales of visiting English shrines (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 66-7).

Introduction

This chapter explores how touch intersected with, and bridged gaps between, the bodies of the living and the dead. To initiate this exploration, the focus first falls on how haptic access to the saintly dead was managed inside the five cathedrals. Two themes structure this chapter: encountering saintly bodies in subterranean spaces and haptic access to elevated saints. Part one encompasses the Anglo-Saxon crypt at Ripon, the conjectured shaft grave of St Alban, and the early foramina shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury. These examples highlight the legacy of subterranean touch from early medieval belief and practice, within and beyond forms of Christianity. It also suggests on-going tensions in English mortuary culture regarding the exposure of saintly bones.

Part two emphasises later elevated arrangements, particularly the two-storey shrines of saints Werburgh (Chester), Alban and Amphibalus (St Albans), and Thomas (Canterbury). The re-constructed shrines at Chester and St Albans provide direct archaeological evidence, while the shrines of St Thomas are discussed from contemporary descriptions, pictorial evidence, and pilgrimage badges. Evidence of other English shrines supplements the discussion. Anxieties concerning public displays of naked bones of the known dead are further examined in these later periods. Two arenas of negotiation are of particular interest: how saintly bodies were strategically and theatrically uncovered for physical interaction; and how shrine microarchitecture orchestrated haptic access.

Particular use is made of Canterbury Cathedral's most notable pre-Reformation Canterbury commentator, the Dutch Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). He wrote about his experiences in his colloquy *A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake* following visits to two of the most popular shrines in England: Our Lady of Walsingham (1512, possibly 1514) and St Thomas of Canterbury (*c.*1514) (Thompson in Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 56). Erasmus changes the names of those involved and wrote his account as a duologue between two fictional Dutch characters 'Menedemus', who is highly cynical of saints' cults, and his friend 'Ogygius' (meaning 'Simpleton'). His account of the dimensions and access to St Thomas' shrine, and the expectations placed on pilgrims to (not) touch Canterbury's various saints provides unique insight into mortuary touch-culture at this cathedral on the eve of the Reformation.

A range of haptic acts are explored: stroking, kissing, holding, grabbing onto, and lying down, as well as various physical petitions of the saints and methods of pledging or swearing on mortuary monuments. What becomes apparent is that despite the major and minor shifts in belief which have structured post-mortem mortuary culture in churches, the recurrence of touch-based practices is undeniable.

PART 1: HAPTIC ACCESS TO THE SUBTERRANEAN DEAD

Virtus: potent touch

The idea that Divine power emanated from holy people was encapsulated in numerous biblical references to Jesus healing through touch (various examples in Matthew 8-9; Mark 6-8; Luke 22:50-51) and people touching his clothes to receive healing (e.g. Mark 3:9-10; Luke 6:18-19; Matthew 9:20-22). Pre-Conquest bishops would also heal through the laying on of hands, including St Cuthbert, St John of Beverley, Bishop Germanus, and Ultan, an Irish

monk at Lindisfarne (Thomas, 1973, 4-5). Bede, writing *c.*730, describes this concept as *virtus* which Charles Thomas explains as:

> "...divine, originally inherent in persons whose sanctity is extrinsically and intrinsically demonstrated during their lives. It is transferable, firstly to the corporeal remains of such people after death, and secondly to inanimate, incorporeal objects which have been in contact with such persons during life or death. Like permanently wet paint, or radioactivity, *virtus* can apparently be transferred many times from person to thing, from thing to thing." (Thomas, 1973, 4).

Virtus resided in tombs of saints, within their bodily remains, and within objects that had made physical contact with either their tombs or bodies (Thomas, 1973, 6). As a result, earth taken from graves or 'dust' collected from tombs and shrines was divinely potent, and was mixed with water as a curative tonic (Thomas, 1973, 6). The water used to clean exhumed bones of the saints would be poured into the corners of cemeteries to drive out evil spirits (Thomas, 1973, 7).

> "The cult of the relics, the whole body of stories of the miracles wrought by *virtus* and faith, was not just an interesting piece of religious phenomenology. It was a constant, potent and often spectacular witness to the power of Christianity, countering latent heathenism, bolstering shaky belief, and enhancing the influence of those who taught adherence to the Divine Will, the only possible fount of this miraculous power." (Thomas, 1973, 5).

Virtus was not passed onto mortals through sight but by touch. This meant that access to the tomb, shrine, or even the bones of saints was of fundamental importance. Bede and his

contemporaries, (including the late 8th-century author of *the Miracles of Bishop Ninians*, which recounts healings at St Ninian's shrine at Whithorn; Felix's *Life of Guthlac of Croyland Abbey* written *c.*730-40; and *De Abbatius* written just after 803 at Lindsfarne) do not explain why saints were exhumed, presumably because it was so obvious to them that they had to be physically available (Thomas, 1973, 7). Their consensus was that accessibility to saintly remains was of prime importance and the most basic requirement of a shrine (Thomas, 1973, 7). Thomas reads Bede as alluding to the vital need amongst churches and monasteries to demonstrate ownership of the physical remains of their founders and saints (1973, 7-8).

Being able to touch the *virtus* of the saints directly or through contact relics (*brandea*) is well-rehearsed in medieval studies across the disciplines (e.g. Blick, 2011; Crook, 2011). However, it is predominantly explored by reconstructing individual shrines (e.g. Nilson, 1998; Blick, 2001; 2005; Crook, 2011); identifying the craftsmanship and artistic milieu of surviving (Continental) metal feretories and body-part reliquaries (e.g. Angenendt, 2010; Krueger, 2010); or discussing the artefacts which came into the contact with the shrines (e.g. Blick, 2001; 2011; Wells, 2011). Part one of this chapter takes an alternative approach by examining the role of subterranean spaces in English saint's cults. This includes the Wilfridian crypt and 'Needle' at Ripon; St Alban's early cult tomb(s); and St Thomas Becket's foramina shrine. The lack of visuality in dark underground spaces suggests pre-13th century devotees were less concerned with visual culture and more interested in tactile interactions. Crowding in small chambers and crawl spaces also raises issues about the emotional and psychological nature of subterranean experiences.

St Albans: St Alban's shaft-grave

One of England's earliest known saints is St Alban the proto-martyr (Crook, 2011, 41). The 4th century date ascribed to Alban's death appears in Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* (*c.*530-40) who seems to have conjectured Alban was killed under the persecution of Christians by the Emperor Diocletian [reigned 284-305] (Crook, 2011, 42). A basilica was supposedly founded by Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who had visited the tomb in AD429, *c.*125 years after Alban's martyrdom (St Albans, 1815, 7). He opened St Alban's *sepulchrum* ('tomb' or 'grave') to add relics (limbs) of the apostles and martyrs he had brought with him, and to retrieve some of the blood-stained earth from the martyrdom (Crook, 2011, 43).

Retrieving handfuls of earth or 'dust' from saint's burials was significant in early medieval veneration and receptacles for the saintly dead were built to accommodate this. Shrines of Late Antiquity would often have a *mensa* or table-top over the grave of a saint, for sharing Eucharistic meals, with a shaft or holes down to the grave for access (Thomas, 1973, 8). The oft-copied *tropaion* at St Peter's tomb in Rome allowed visitors to drop offerings down the shaft and pieces of cloth could also be lowered to absorb the sanctity of the saint (Crook, 2011, 17). *Tropaion* tomb-shrines allowed the saint to remain buried below ground, as per the Roman Church's fashion for saints to remain in the earth not elevated from the grave (Crook, 2011, 54). Although there is no direct physical evidence, it has been postulated that St Alban's grave was accessed via a *tropaion* structure, given the prevalence of this design in the opening decades of his cult (Crook, 2011, 41-4).

If St Alban's grave had indeed been accessed via a shaft, it would have been one of many ways in which early pilgrims were encouraged to interact with the subterranean spaces of the dead. The reliquary of St Chad at Lichfield, as described by Bede, possibly had no base and

was placed over a shallow grave with the bones of Chad accessed through an aperture at one end (Thomas, 1973, 10). St Cuthbert's portable wooden shrine had a hole in the front to provide access to his relics inside, although this was sealed at a later date (Thomas, 1973, 17). Contemporary shrine sites excavated in south-west Ireland were comprised of a stone-lined yard with two large plain rectangular slabs resting against each other to form a triangular structure over the grave (Thomas, 1973, Fig. 1). The ends were open for accessing the grave, and one example at Killoluaig, Co. Kerry, had part of a human skull still accessible (Thomas, 1973, Fig. 1).

In such cases, seeing the remains of the saint was impossible. Shaft-graves and pierced or open-ended reliquaries did not offer a predominantly visual experience *per se*, but a haptic encounter with the saint. Items could be deposited underground and secondary contact made with the grave or bones. An underground hoard of offerings probably accumulated at shaft-graves, including cloth that fell-off when lowered down, and further votives may have surrounded the burial. The form of St Alban's *sepulchrum* does not seem to have warranted comment from early medieval writers. Either it was too obvious as a *mensa* or *tropaion*, or it had no remarkable features. A 'visual culture' is not remarked upon. What is emphasised is the ability to access the contents of the grave, and this is paralleled at other early medieval shrines in Britain and Ireland.

Ripon: the Wilfridian crypt

The intermingling of Roman practices and subterranean spaces of the dead became magnified in the form of Anglo-Saxon crypts. That at Ripon Cathedral is a rare survival but one often overshadowed by its later, slightly more sophisticated sibling at Hexham Abbey (see Hall, 1995). Ripon was the first of Wilfrid's two crypts, built *c.*669 x 678 (Bailey, 2013, 118). It

remains the only surviving Anglo-Saxon-period architecture in an extant English cathedral, since within roughly fifty years of the Norman Conquest every English cathedral had been rebuilt (Crook, 2011, 108). Wilfrid placed great emphasis on reconstructing Roman-style rites and architecture at Ripon and Hexham (Thacker, 2004), most notably in the style of their crypts (Bailey, 1991; Crook, 2011, 54-6). Unlike other Anglo-Saxon crypts, they do not follow the later ambulatory ring-crypt design employed elsewhere (e.g. Canterbury) which ran beneath the east end of churches, copying St Peter's ring-crypt in Rome (Crook, 2011, 54-6). Instead, Wilfrid's crypts were built to ape Roman catacombs, following his visits to Rome (Bailey, 1991).

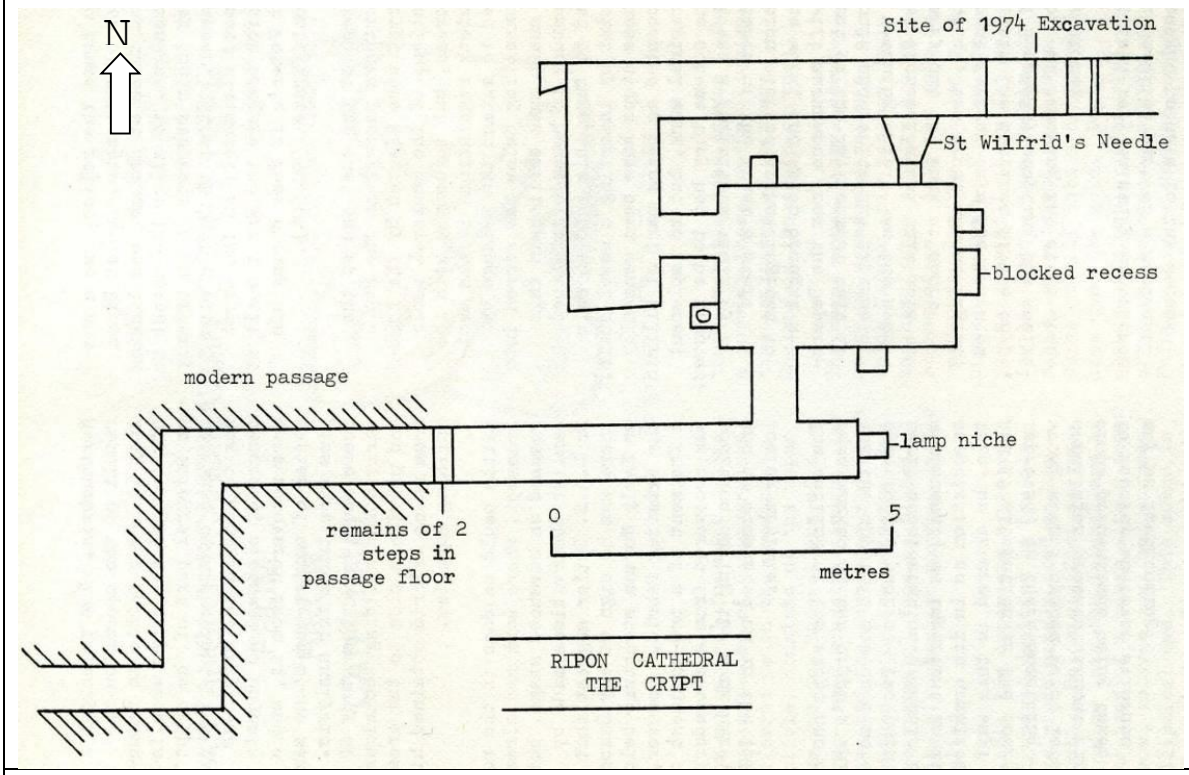


Fig. 4.1 Plan of Ripon Cathedral's crypt (Hall, 2011).

The exact purpose of Wilfrid's Ripon crypt is unknown, but since Roman catacombs contained human relics, and Wilfrid was an avid collector of relics from the Continent, the general consensus is that the crypt operated as a shrine to house his extensive collections of

Continental saints and martyrs (Bailey, 1991; Thacker, 2004; Crook, 2011, 54-6). Around 18 months before he died, Wilfrid distributed his 'portable treasure' to other churches, including relics he had housed at Ripon (Thacker, 2004). A portion was retained by* Ripon for purchasing ecclesiastical friends and favours (Thacker, 2004). Thus a smaller assemblage probably continued to be displayed in the crypt.

Although this was not the arrangement at Hexham (Hall, 1995, 21), Ripon's crypt was probably originally below the main altar at the east end of the church (Bailey, 2013, 118). Following the numerous rebuilds of the above-ground church over the 9th to 11th centuries, the crypt probably lay beneath the choir (Crook, 2011, 54-6). The crypt is currently beneath the crossing; entering from the south-west corner of the nave and exiting into the north side of the choir.

Uses of the Crypt

Neither Ripon nor any of the Northumbrian churches in this period had any primary relics (i.e. whole bodies) to boast of (Cambridge, 2013, 144). Indeed, Cambridge (2013, 144-6) argues this was propelled by Wilfrid's eradication of heretical indigenous saints and their cults, and replacing them with contact relics or minor pieces of saints and martyrs of the Roman church. However, secondary relics had neither the same spiritual gravitas nor the popularity of primary relics. Therefore, the unusual form of the Roman-style crypt was a way of promoting a large but rather inferior collection of secondary relics from the Continent (Cambridge, 2013, 144-6). By placing his secondary relics in the crypts, Wilfrid was generating interest by offering an unusual subterranean experience while simultaneously stamping out pre-existing (heretical) competition (Cambridge, 2013, 144-6).

Wilfrid's crypts may also have operated for penitence of heretical British clergy who disagreed on Rome's date for Easter according to the ruling of the Council of Narbonne enacted AD 589 (Cambridge, 2013, 148-9). Easter and Passion liturgical services were probably conducted in the crypt, as these were being re-thought in the 7th century and the crypt was considered a representation of the Holy Sepulchre itself (Cambridge, 2013, 147-8).

Very little scholarship has been dedicated to the uses of the crypt after the 7th century although it continued to be used as evidenced by later augmentations. The shorter southern corridor appears to have been blocked at the eastern end shortly after being built (Micklethwaite, 1882, 350). At some point incised thirteenth-century grave slabs were inserted into the roof of the southern corridor roof (see Fig.4.2; Hallett, 1901, 75-6). The northern corridor may have been the original entrance but this was blocked up presumably when the above-ground church was rebuilt or re-arranged at some point (Hallett, 1901, 76). The southern entrance then became the primary entrance.

At the very least, pilgrims entered the crypt on St Wilfrid's day to see the relics throughout the medieval period (Fowler, 1886b, 236-7). The crypt was a popular destination for 15th century pilgrims according to donations made there, although what was displayed inside the crypt by that point is not mentioned (Fowler, 1886b, 236-7). Experiencing the crypt itself may have been the attraction.

a.

b.

Fig.4.2 Ripon Cathedra**l,** crypt**:** 13th century grave markers embedded in the roof of the southern corridor; a. sword motif b. interlinked circular design below sword motif

Experiencing the Crypt

Wilfrid's crypts were deliberately disorientating for the visitor (Crook, 2011, 54-6). Alone or with another individual, the crypt feels cold, sounds have a short echo, and although the passages are narrow there is a feeling of control over entering or leaving, moving or stopping at will. The relative solitude, the inability to hear anything beyond the immediate crypt environment, and the lack of natural light means time seems to pass at a different speed (if at all). With a large group, queuing in the southern and northern passages is a slow, cramped, claustrophobic affair. You are unable to see anything other than the person in front of you, and a queue behind you prevents you leaving once you have entered. There are no alternatives other than to go into the chamber and out the other side. The route must be

completed if you wish to leave. The low ceilings in the corridors means taller individuals are stooped over until entering the main chamber. The narrowness of the passages makes turning around near-impossible at certain points, which is compounded by the thin, steep, uneven steps of the northern corridor (now the exit, possibly the original entrance) and the overall darkness of the crypt itself. No natural light sources are available. The candles used to light the passages would have created a smoky atmosphere as well, possibly causing breathing problems or coughing. Bodily smells are amplified by the forced proximity between bodies and the humidity generated by the crowd. Voices from those already in the main chamber filter back into the corridors in a flat, distorted, unintelligible way, preventing you from guessing what they are experiencing ahead of you.

Attempting to move into or around the main chamber when it is crowded is almost impossible and, unless groups were staggered, there was probably a considerable amount of jostling and mild pushing inside the chamber. Despite being such a small room with a low, barrel-vault ceiling, it is difficult to pick out individual voices unless standing very close to the person. Any custodian or clergyman proclaiming the relics or conducting liturgies to a crowded crypt may have been difficult to hear. A group generating heat makes the crypt very warm, uncomfortably so. Visitors have been known to feel dizzy and light-headed because of this. Others may feel overwhelmed by claustrophobia.

Leaving via the steps in either corridor, many people may have to stabilise or help themselves up by pressing their hands on to either side of the corridor but bowing their heads at some points where the ceiling is low. In a crowd including those with poor mobility; diseases potentially producing varying smells and discharges; children and babies; and those audibly expressing neurological or psychological problems through screaming, crying, or whooping

(etc.), the experience for all concerned, not just the able bodied, may have been punctuated with unpleasant or unnerving moments. There was no escape until the route through the crypt had been completed. It could be conjectured that a thoughtful mode of operating the crypt would have involved clergy or custodians constantly monitoring the entrance and exits during available hours to stagger groups and filter the numbers in and out, but there is simply no evidence to illuminate this one way or another.

The Confessio

An opening in the crypt's east wall, presumed to be a 'window', was identified and briefly re-opened when a new organ was installed in the choir in the 19th-century (Micklethwaite, 1882, 353-4: listed as the 'blocked recess' on Fig.4.1). It has since been blocked-up and is now a large niche where a medieval Resurrection bas-relief is currently hung. A few steps led down to this opening from the choir, allowing viewers to see into the crypt and view the back of the altar without actually entering (Micklethwaite, 1882, 353-4). Hexham does not have such an opening but this may be because its crypt is much deeper underground (Micklethwaite, 1882, 353). When seen during the organ installation, the facing decorative ashlar stones had been removed prior to blocking it, suggesting it was not intended for further use or access (Micklethwaite, 1882, 354). The closure is undated, although Micklethwaite (1882, 353-4) who conducted the excavation, believed it had been blocked 'shortly after' the crypt was finished.

No burials in Ripon's crypt are documented and none were found during the 1900 excavation (Hallett, 1901, 73-4). St Wilfrid was originally buried on the south side of the high altar until 979 and by 992 his remains were in a shrine (Barton, Punshon & Ripon Dean & Chapter, 2002, 24; Fowler, 1882c, 20). Thus the *confessio* was probably not providing access to an

actual tomb as was the case at St Alban.

However, the crypt altar was located in front of it and the aperture may have been more than a 'window'. Given Wilfrid's proclivity for replicating features from St Peter's church in Rome, such as the catacombs beneath it, this hole may have copied the *tropaion*, thus providing a way of physically accessing the altar or reliquary/reliquaries below it. The 7th-century version of St Peter's tomb which Wilfrid visited was accessed via a round-headed 'window' (Fig.4.3). Ripon's *confessio* may have been a miniature version of this, allowing visitors to drop offerings into the crypt, lower *brandea*, or even reach or crawl into to access any relics or an openly accessible reliquary, as with St Chad's wooden house shrine and St Cuthbert's holed altar.

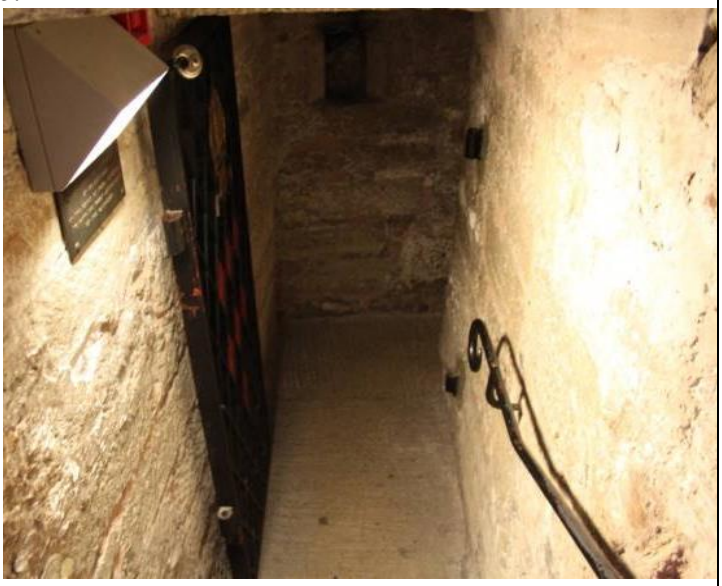
Fig. 4.4 St Peter's Basilica, Rome (Richardson, 2014): the 7th century *confessio* into St Peter's shaft grave where visitors could drop offerings. Wilfrid would have seen this and may have emulated it at Ripon.

If the north corridor was indeed used as the original crypt entrance (see Fig.4.4c; Bailey, 1996, 11), pilgrims may have passed by the *confessio* window first (presumably whetting their appetite) and then descended down the steep, narrow steps into the western ante-chamber. Although the *confessio* seems to have been concealed shortly after the crypt was constructed, once 'St Wilfrid's Needle' was created by breaking through a wall niche (a later feature: see below), visitors would have encountered an alternative access point on their way down the northern steps, before entering the crypt. Having viewed the contents of the main chamber, visitors would have left via the southern passage (Fig.4.4a+d). Since nothing is known of the original above-ground church, it can only be guessed where the entrance and exit emerged into the church itself.

Why the *confessio* would be closed is not immediately apparent. It may have been a pragmatic choice based on interior arrangements in the church above ground. It may also have been influenced by switching the entrance to the southern corridor. St Wilfrid's Needle may have superseded it as an aperture into the crypt. It might have been a way of ensuring donations within the crypt rather than offering a sneak-peak above-ground. There is also the possibility that the relics were moved, changed or upgraded in some way or the use of the crypt had evolved, making it inappropriate to have a window into the main church.

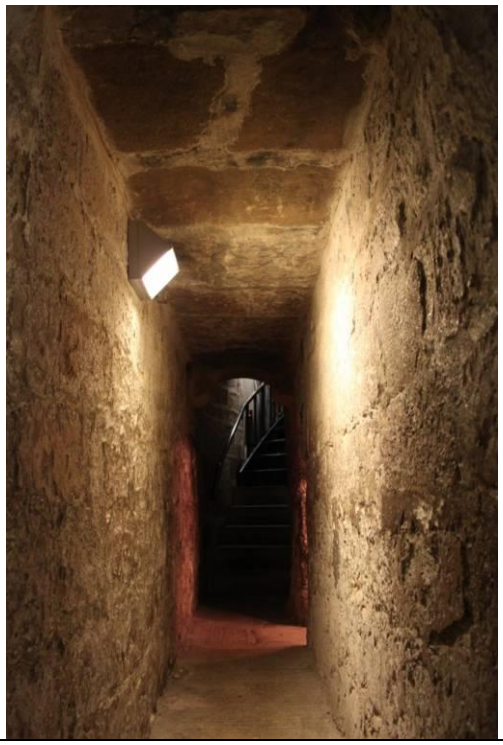
The closure of the *confessio*, and potentially an additional exit to ground level, would have significantly reduced the natural light in the main crypt chamber, requiring more artificial light from candles. Visuality may have been very poor. Additional candles would have made it smokier as well, despite the built in miniature flues in the niches (Micklethwaite, 1882, 354). Once the *confessio* was blocked, it must be assumed that the only way the contents of

a.



b.

c.



d.

Fig. 4.4 Ripon Cathedral: crypt**:** a. entrance to southern corridor;

b. ‘false’ passage at end of southern corridor; c. northern corridor facing east with staircase into choir; d. southern corridor facing east.

the chamber could now be viewed was to make the subterranean descent into the crypt. Both visual and physical access to the crypt had been further reduced.

Canterbury and Exeter crypts

A Roman style *confessio* may have been extant at Canterbury cathedral as well. According to Eadmer (d.1124), Canterbury had a *confessio* and crypt beneath the sanctuary of the pre-Conquest cathedral (Morris, 1979, 164). Anglo-Saxon clergy and laity at Canterbury believed the cathedral was actually a Roman building given by King Æthelberht to Augustine in 597 for re-use as a church (Brooks, 1995, 35-6). There are no standing remains of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral which was destroyed by fire in 1067, although excavations of the nave in 1993 revealed evidence of its foundations (Blockley et al., 1997).

Excavations have potentially revealed at Exeter a type of crypt popular in Germany known as *aussenkrypta* ('outer crypt') where the relic chamber of the crypt projected out of the east end of the church, often with a 'window' into the churchyard (Morris, 1979, 164). Although Exeter had no saint, the founding Bishop of Exeter, Leofric, was buried in the cathedral crypt in 1073 (*in crypta ejusdem ecclesise*) supposedly beneath what is now St James' chapel (Oliver, 1861, 8). This was part of a legacy of church founders buried as focal points in crypts, such as Æthelbald of Mercia (d.757) and King Wiglaf (*c.*828-40) interred and commemorated in Repton's crypt, which had been built as a royal mausoleum (Crook, 2011, 57).

A possible crypt was excavated at Glastonbury, pre-dating Dunstan's abbacy (943-60), which may have been the burial place of King Ine of Wessex (d.728) (Crook, 2011, 57). Leofric's burial has never been found at Exeter, despite an exploratory excavation in 1847 (Oliver,

1861, 8). The crypt became the wine cellar for the Bishop's palace after the 12th /13th century (Oliver, 1861, 8) so it was not part of Exeter's pilgrimage programme for long. Nonetheless, the crypts at Canterbury and Exeter are symptomatic of the variety of ways crypts were used and the forms they took. These crypts may also have offered apertures into the crypt for pilgrims to pass items through or reach-in and touch relics or sacred items, as well as glimpsing and thus tempting them to enter.

There has been a tendency in studies of sensory experiences of relics to focus on evidence of positive, exciting or joyous encounters with the Divine (e.g. Nilson, 1999; Wells, 2011). Yet many visitors to Ripon's crypt, and similar spaces, may have had a troubling, even potentially traumatic time. The crypt could generate negative physiological reactions and thus negative memories for some. Architectural subterranean spaces of this nature were unusual, and indeed the Wilfridian crypts seem to have no English counterparts. Thus entering the crypt would have submersed the visitor into a foreign world of Rome or Jerusalem re-imagined. Sight was less helpful in navigating the crypt, and sound could be distorted in unusual, even potentially frightening ways. Touch was crucial for feeling a way through the dark, narrow passages and even today there are signs of wear on the doorways (Fig.4.5). For some, this might be embraced and adventured as a special, richly evocative space outside of everyday sensory experiences. For others, the descent and ascent may have been a punishing, upsetting event. The mortuary connotation of the crypt as a reliquary and grave or tomb, not only had the potential for a spiritual experience, but was also a frontier of physiological and cognitive distortion. Private tours for individuals or very small groups would have been a different experience to the sensory overload created by crowds.

Fig. 4.5. Ripon Cathedral: Wilfridian crypt: a. the small main chamber at full capacity with only *c.*10 people facing the *confessio*. b. View inside the full main chamber from the western ante-chamber; c. the north-east area of the main chamber today.

A Subterranean Legacy

Entering underground spaces of the dead, particularly the supernaturally powerful, had great significance in England during the 7th century when Ripon's crypt was built and first experienced, and long after into the 11th century (Williams, 2015; also Semple 2013). This significance was expressed in rich, multivalent media across Anglo-Saxon England including literature such as the 8th century epic *Beowulf*; place names, and a familiarity with or re-use of pre-existing subterranean spaces such as Iron Age souterrains, Roman ruins, and prehistoric barrows and chambered tombs (Williams, 2015; Semple, 2013; also Williams, 1998; Semple 1998; 2004). Indeed, the dragon's barrow mentioned in *Beowulf* is specified as a stone-vaulted space, paralleling 7th-9th century underground baptisteries or mausolea (Owen-Crocker, 2000, 62) or mortuary chapels and crypts (Williams, 2015, 83).

Barrows were being adopted for high-status burial in 7th-century England (Williams, 1998). The Bronze-Age Uncleby barrow, a day's walk from Ripon cathedral, was receiving burials in the 7th century, and the Garton Slack barrow, re-used in the Anglo-Saxon period for burials, is also nearby (see Williams, 1998, 100, Fig.1). The Bronze Age barrow at Ailcy Hill, also in Ripon, was being re-used for 6th and 7th-century burials, with occasional later interments in the 8th- and 9th-centuries (Hall & Whyman, 1996, 67-124). These barrow burials potentially occurred within living memory of those building and visiting Wilfrid's crypt.

Yet the barrow was a highly contentious place in Anglo-Saxon landscapes. Sarah Semple (1998, 111-3, 118) has pointed to the complex interweaving in Anglo-Saxon Christian literature (8th to early 11th centuries) and place-name evidence of prehistoric barrows inhabited by or associated with the Æsir (the pagan pantheon) especially the one-eyed god Woden (Odin); elves, goblins, hags, ghosts, demons, and dragons guarding treasure.

They were initially the abode of feared supernatural entities, and places where Ælfric (d.1010) warned against witches raising the dead (Semple, 1998, 113). Non-Christians, unbaptised infants, suicides, and criminals would exist in a limbo state inside these ancient, demonic subterranean features (Semple, 1998, 113).

Archaeological evidence has since demonstrated numerous examples of later Anglo-Saxon execution sites and associated burials centred on prehistoric barrows (e.g. Reynolds, 2009). Williams (2015, 83) specifically cites Repton's church crypt (Derbyshire; 8th century) as a candidate for the crypt-like dragon's barrow and points to *Beowulf's* pagan inversion of Christian burial practice, pilgrimage, and prayer. He suggests a conceptual counterpoint between the dragon's crypt in *Beowulf* and Christ's empty tomb (Williams, 2015, 85, 87). Ripon's crypt as a simulation of the Holy Sepulchre – Christ's literal empty tomb – within a local landscape of re-used barrows, physically underlines this juxtaposition identified in the text. Williams (2015, 85) also points to the importance of the absence/presence of the deceased within these subterranean spaces in the sense that they were physically inhabited either by the elite dead who had taken residence there or by the saints.

Felix's 8th-century *Life of Guthlac* is particularly pertinent. Originally a monk at Repton, St Guthlac became a hermit who built chambers inside a prehistoric barrow in Crowland, Lincolnshire where he lived until his death in 714 (Semple, 2013, 149-53). There he was visited by hoards of demons and then monsters, some turning into dragons and serpents to torment him, which he, as a Christian saint, ultimately vanquished within the barrow (Semple, 2013, 151-3). "The barrow is thus not merely synonymous with misery and hellish exile, torment and demons; its use was also specific in the evocation of remembered or imagined conceptions of 'heathen' or pagan sacred places" (Semple, 2013, 153).

The supernatural subterranean world was a recurring trope throughout the 7th to 11th centuries (Semple, 2013), during which time the crypts at Ripon, Hexham, Canterbury, and Exeter were constructed, amongst many others. It is curious that English crypts were rarely built after the 12th century, unless structurally necessary (Nilson, 1998, 73). They are predominantly an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon, with a few Anglo-Norman examples (Nilson, 1998, 73).

Nilson (1998, 73) noted a strong relationship between pre-Conquest cathedrals with major shrines also having crypts. However, major English shrines were never housed in crypts after the elevation of St Thomas in 1220 although minor relics and altars might remain or be relocated there (Nilson, 1998, 73). The lack of light and space, access issues, and the tendency for some crypts to flood, as at Canterbury and Winchester, undoubtedly added to this spatial shift (Nilson, 1998, 73). Nilson is, however, at a loss to explain the originating relationship between crypts and shrines, since there is no consistent structural reasoning for building crypts if the shrines were located elsewhere (Nilson, 1998, 73). He merely suggests cathedrals perhaps built crypts as architectural elaborations to express their wealth (Nilson, 1998, 73).

An additional explanation for the addition of crypts is their long standing membership in a suite of subterranean spaces with spiritual significance. The desire and demands to enter such spaces fossilised in myths, legends, and Christian doctrine, may have contributed to their continued creation. This in no way negates their structural, ideological, or symbolic roles. The legacy of subterranean spaces conceptualised as supernaturally dangerous, unstable places, and the recurring theme of Christian faith overcoming the evil entities of the ancient subterranean world, may have made visitors to crypts wary. However, the repeated assertion

that evil *could* be overcome by entering these confrontational spaces may have encouraged sufferers seeking the eradication of bodily ills or spiritual challenge. The dark, smoky, claustrophobic, and disorientating crypt at Ripon is a prime example of the sensory distortion they might engender, and the unnerving psychological states that might ensue. The importance of bodily experiences rather than purely sighted experiences is emphasised in the literature and the architecture of the 7th to 11th century crypts and underground spaces. They were inhabited by physical as well as spiritual entities, and the dead were physically present through bones and relics. With the sense of sight depreciated and sounds distorted, the visitor to the crypt would be reliant on other heightened senses, including touch to navigate their way in and out of these places.

Canterbury: St Thomas' Foramina

Crypts were not the only subterranean spaces offered in churches and cathedrals. Tombs with crawl spaces inside them or portal holes for reaching inside, known as *foramina*, were also popular in England (Bartlett, 2013, 255). Foramina had begun in Jerusalem, based on the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre, and were found over saintly graves across western Christendom by the 12th century (Crook, 2011, 194). The rise of the foramina in England seems to overlap the decline of the crypt. Their popularity indicates that touching the coffin or casket had become an important and attractive venerative practice by then, and foramina continued into the 13th century (Crook, 2011, 194-5). Shrines with openings and apertures for pilgrims to crawl through or place their hands and limbs inside were rarely found on the Continent and seem to be a largely English preference (Bartlett, 2013, 255; Crook, 2011, 191-204; 240-4). While the Jerusalem example is an obvious point of reference, the aperture house shrines and altars in early medieval Britain and the open-ended slab shrines in Ireland (Thomas, 1973, 10, 17) are equally obvious contributors to the English foramina.

Foramina for St Edmund (d.869) at Bury St Edmunds and St Edward the Confessor (d.1066) at Westminster Abbey were depicted in 13th century manuscripts showing people crawling inside them (Fig. 4.6). The desire to climb inside saint's shrines was so embedded in English mortuary culture that even non-foramina shrines could have holes inserted at a later date to meet demand. For example, St Swithun (d.862) was translated to a feretory in the 11th century, placed on top of a raised platform above the high altar, behind a stone screen (Crook, 2011, 176-8). Because there was no stone shrine base with portals, as found elsewhere, a small 'doorway' was cut into the screen which led into a short passage with no exit. Although it has been suggested this may have originally a relic niche, it was known as the 'holy hole' by at least the 15th century as pilgrims had been crawling into it long before then (Crook, 2011, 176-8).

The most famous example is St Thomas Becket's foramina, housed in the crypt at Canterbury Cathedral (Fig.4.7). Archbishop Becket was officially canonised by the Pope as St Thomas of Canterbury in 1173, after his martyrdom in 1170 (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 69-70). Yet the desire to venerate and invocate Becket as a saint was already underway (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 69-70). Onlookers at the murder scene in the cathedral's north-west transept had been taking away pieces of his clothing from his corpse and collecting his blood within minute of his death to which miraculous cures were attributed within hours (Stanley, 1911, 93, 95-6, 195). The clergy even had to install benches around the transept to prevent public interference with the murder scene or Beckets' corpse (Stanley, 1911, 95).

a.

b.

Fig. 4.6 a. shrine of St Edward the Confessor, 13th century image (© Cambridge University Library, n.d.) b. the burial of Edward the Confessor, 13th century image (© Cambridge University Library, n.d.). Image reproduced under Wikipedia Creative Commons License.

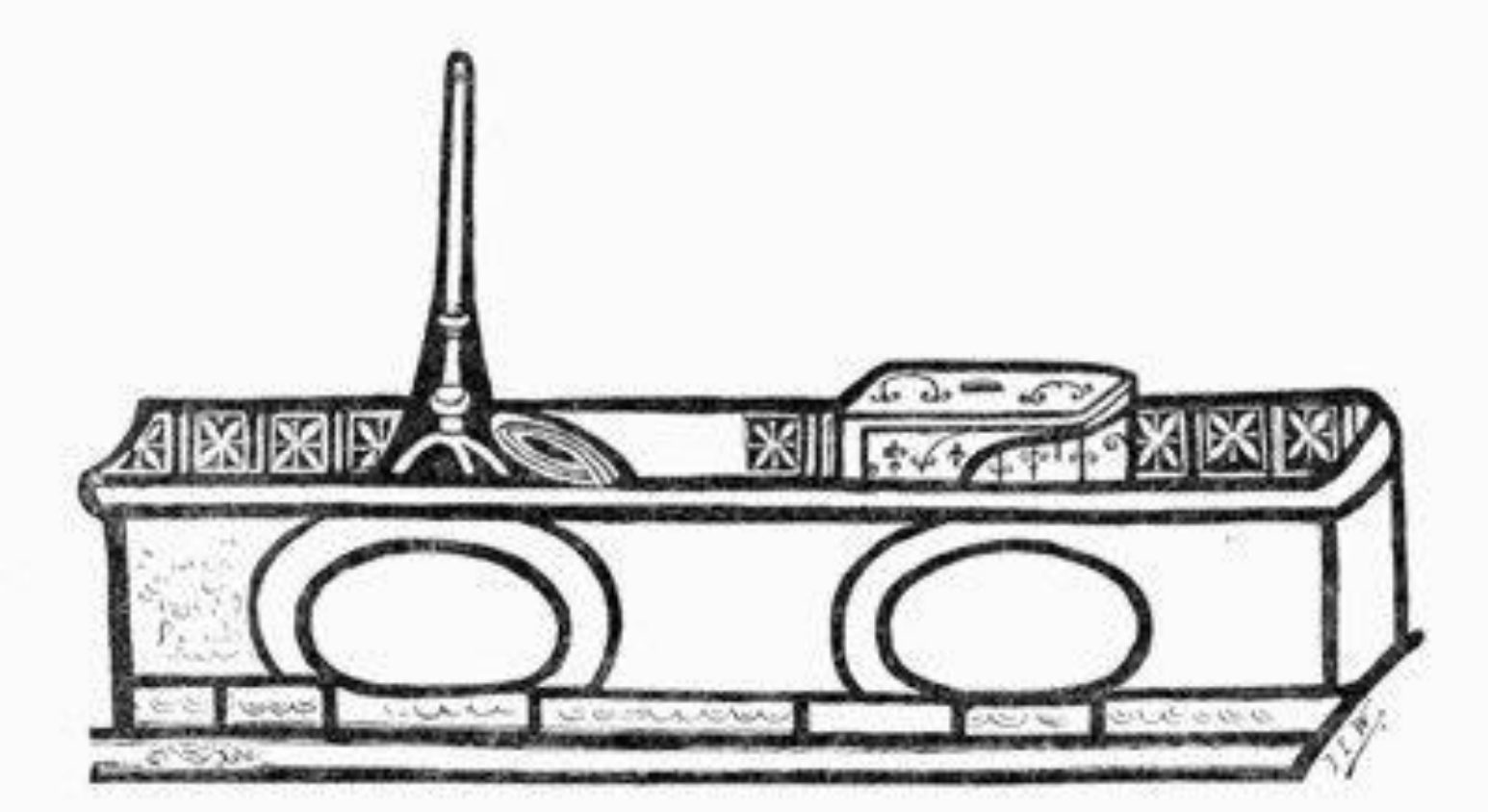


Fig. 4.7 St Thomas Becket's foramina tomb (Wall, 1905, 155). From a window in Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Note the recess in the top for a candle stick, an unknown object, and a pyx (strong box for donations).

According to Benedict of Peterborough, Becket was buried under the floor of the eastern axial chapel of the crypt, and a tomb-shrine was quickly raised over it to protect the coffin and corpse from desecration by his enemies (Crook, 2011, 196). Cantabrian monk Gervase, who was present at the burial, states Becket was placed in a new marble sarcophagus located behind the shrine of the Virgin, between the altars of St. Augustine and St. John the Baptist, and the vessels which had collected the martyrs blood and brains were placed in front of it (Stanley, 1911, 99).

The crypt was then closed to the public and mass could not be conducted because the cathedral had been desecrated by spilt blood (Stanley, 1911, 99). During this interim period, "the pictures and hangings were taken down, the bells were not rung, the altar was veiled, there was no music, [and] the services were held in the chapter-house" (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 70). The cathedral was re-consecrated a year later by the Bishops of Exeter and Chester on the 21st of December, 1171 (Stanley, 1911, 100).

The late 12th-century chronicler, Benedict of Peterborough, gives a detailed description of Becket's foramina:

> "Built around the marble sarcophagus was a wall of great ashlar blocks, strongly bonded with cement, iron, and lead, with two openings in each side, through which those who came, inserting their heads, were able to kiss the sarcophagus. Over it was a great marble slab, and the structure was hollow, with a gap of almost one foot between the top of the sarcophagus and the slab above." (quoted in Crook, 2011, 196).

The monument is depicted in multiple 13th-century stained glass in the ambulatory of Trinity Chapel at Canterbury cathedral (see Fig.4.8. and Caviness, 1981). They follow Benedict's

description of having only two openings although three were more common (Crook, 2011, 196-7). The tomb is also depicted in the Becket window at Sens cathedral where he is shown lying on top of the tomb-shrine (Crook, 2011, 197). This foramina appears 34 times in the windows of Trinity Chapel's north ambulatory which were already installed *c.*1213-20 by the time Becket's relics were translated to a new shrine in 1220 (Caviness, 1981, 164, 180-92).

King Henry II's penitence for his initiation of Becket's death was conducted on 12th July 1174 (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 74-5) and was a deeply haptic affair involving the king in submissive postures, especially at the foramina. Henry first walked barefoot from St Dunstan's church to the cathedral, kissed the spot where Becket died in the north-transept (now known as the 'Martyrdom'), then knelt with his head inside Becket's foramina to receive over 200 strokes with a rod from the bishops, abbot, and monks present (Crook, 2011, 195; Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 74-5). He fasted overnight in the crypt and left the following day with a vial of St Thomas's water: a dilution of the martyr's blood collected from the murder scene and the bleeding corpse (Crook, 2011, 195; Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 74-5).

Miracles also occurred for those accessing Becket through his foramina. According to Benedict, a man known as AElward of Selling, suffering from a form of insanity, attempted to climb inside Becket's tomb-shrine and lie on top of the coffin (Crook, 2011, 197). The monks' fears that the tomb would have to be dismantled to release AElward were allayed when he wriggled back out again, seemingly cured (Crook, 2011, 197). This is mirrored in two accounts by Gerald of Wales (fl.1196-*c.*1220) of miracles at St Hugh's foramina at Lincoln. A blind woman, Matilda, who lived for over a year near the marble foramina tomb of St Hugh, and was cured in 1208 when she slept with her head in one of the circular openings, and another woman, Iveta, had her paralysed hand restored when she lay inside an

a.

b.

c.

Fig. 4.8 Canterbury cathedral: Becket's foramina shrine depicted in the Cure of Richard of Sunieve, Becket Miracle Window 6 (© Barritt.Getty Images, n.d.).

aperture (Crook, 2011, 195). Pilgrims in pain at the shrine might have 'Canterbury Water' smeared on their affected body parts by the monks (Blick, 2001, 8).

Explaining this uniquely English type of shrine has so far proved difficult (Bartlett, 2013, 256). This may be because English shrines have been predominantly contextualised within wider influences of the Roman Church, particularly St Peter's tomb in Rome and the foramina of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (e.g. Bartlett, 2013, 255). These were undeniably influential structures. However, the inherited legacy of (indigenous) beliefs and practices centred on subterranean spaces as places of challenge and transformation may have sustained an interest in experiencing underground architectural spaces within and beyond the Anglo-Saxon period in English churches.

Ripon: St Wilfrid's Needle in the late medieval/early modern period

The importance of apertures and possible crawl spaces re-emerges in a later augmentation of Ripon's Wilfridian crypt, known as 'St Wilfrid's ne[e]dle', which was associated with a later tradition of visitors squeezing through (see below). The north-east niches in both Ripon and Hexham's crypts open into their northern corridors (Micklethwaite, 1882, 353). Their significance is unclear since they are not ventilation niches, which are in the western vault of both crypts (Micklethwaite, 1882, 353). The north-east aperture at Ripon is high up in the corner of the crypt (Fig. 4.1; 4.9; 4.10), which seems to be a lamp niche which was later broken through (Hall, 1995, 19). Why this was done is unclear, although the increase of natural light from the northern exit may have helped illuminate the crypt.

Hall (1995, 19) believed the earliest reference to the Needle was in 17th century commentaries. However, financial accounts for offerings on holy days and during fairs in

a.

b.

Fig. 4.9. Ripon Cathedral crypt: a. Wilfrid's Needle viewed inside the main chamber (standing on stone platform); b. Wilfrid's Needle viewed from staircase in northern corridor.

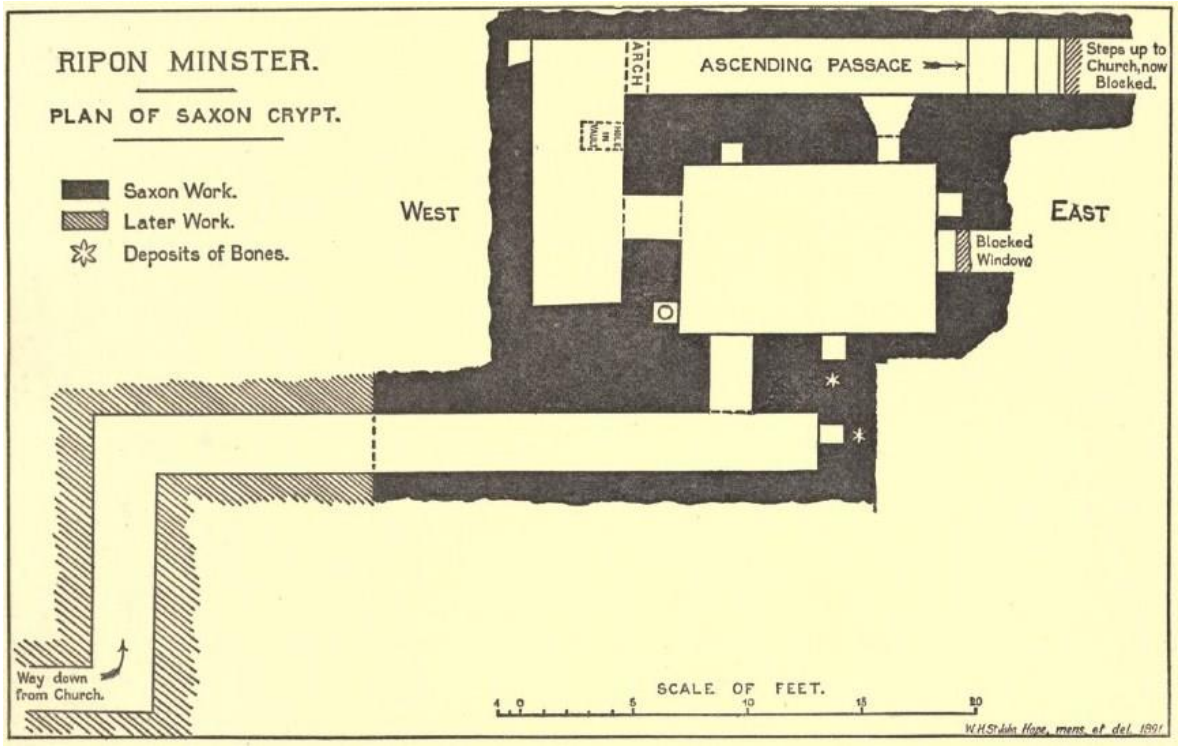


Fig. 4.10. Plan of Ripon's Wilfridian crypt following the 1881 excavation (Micklethwaite, 1881, 193).

1447-8 almost all list the crypt (*les Cruddes*) as second only to St Wilfrid's head shrine in cash donations (Fowler, 1882b, 236-7) indicating its popularity long before the Reformation. No saint or specific relics are mentioned in relation to the crypt at this time although that does not mean relics were not being housed there. By 1472-3, the accounts specify St Wilfrid's Needle as the donation point in the crypt, although it raised very little money (Fowler, 1886b, 237). This is more reflective of the all-around low takings at this time rather than a specific disinterest in the crypt. What it does indicate is that in the 15th century, the crypt and the Needle were pilgrimage sites long after the Anglo-Saxon interest in building and experiencing crypts.

The Needle's popularity continued even after the Reformation. In 1567-8 Her Majesty's High Court of Commission at York ordered curate Thomas Blackburne to block up the Needle, and dismantle and deface the altar still standing in the crypt (Hall, 1995, 19). This was symptomatic of Ripon's continuing stubbornness against the new Protestant doctrines.

Blackburne had to publically admit his protracted failure to close the Needle since the Commission considered the crypt, Needle, and its altar "old, abhominable [sic] and supersticious [sic]' (Hall, 1995, 19). All three were synonymous with Catholic practices, possibly suggesting some form of saint veneration had quietly continued. Wilfrid Holme's poem *'The Fall and Eville Sucesse of Rebellion'* (finished 1537; published 1572) mentions the 'needle' was used to identify sinners who could not pass themselves through it (Holme, 1572; Sheils, 2004). William Camden (1551-1623) also reported how people allegedly squeezed through the Needle, which:

> "...was famous in the last age. The business was this; there was a straight passage into a room close and vaulted, under ground, whereby trial was made of any woman's chastity; if she was chaste, she passed with ease, but if otherwise, she was, I know not by what miracle, stopped and detained" (Camden in Hall, 1995, 19).

Although there is no continuity of belief and practice from Anglo-Saxon perceptions and uses of the crypt, the notion of the Needle had taken on the role of an underground space for challenging and filtering out sinful bodies. This stands in direct contrast with the foramina tombs which offered a space primarily reserved for healing the worthy body. The negative overtones of the Needle in 16th century commentaries may reflect Protestant distaste for, and emphasis of, Catholic practices as sinful. Squeezing bodies through portals may have had residual connotations of haptic contact with the saints. By emphasising that, it would now

identify sinful (Catholic) behaviour the Needle may have become a dangerous crawl space. Underground spaces of the dead now exposed the spiritual inadequacies of the living rather than healing their physical deficiencies.

This may partly explain the apparent forgetting of the crypt and its Needle in the 17th and 18th centuries. No further antiquarian comment on crypt practices appear in works of either Leland or Herbert (d.1681 also: Hall, 1995, 15, 20). Gent (1733) published the first plan of the crypt and includes special mention of the Needle. However, he assumes it was an underground chantry chapel. He also notes the exit into the choir was blocked. A visitor in 1790 described it as 'so dreary a cell' and thought the Needle was a squint (Hall, 1995, 20). Apparently the memory of the crypt's role as a relic house and local folk practices of crawling through the Needle apparently had ended by the 18th century.

John Walbran, a local antiquarian, first recognised the crypt was Wilfridian in 1845 by careful comparison with Hexham's crypt (Walbran, 1845; Hall, 1995, 20). He described it as "a damp and gloomy cell, dark and cheerless as the grave" and suggested it was a confessional and possibly also a "sepulchre for the host or image of Christ" (Hall, 1995, 20). The following year he refined his interpretation, believing it was either built for an unknown 'Saxon ritual' or used for prayer, meditation and penance (Hall, 1995, 20). J.T. Micklethwaite (1882), drawing on Walbran's work, firmly established the crypt was not only Anglo-Saxon rather than Romano-British, and argued it was Wilfrid's version of a Roman tomb for a witness of the faith (Hallett, 1901, 74 fn.3). Although 19th-century research began to re-establish the crypt's mortuary status, it was no longer in use and the stairs exiting from the northern corridor were still blocked by 1881 as in Fig. 4.10 (Micklethwaite, 1881, 193). They were unblocked in 1974 when the crypt was temporarily turned into the cathedral treasury

until 1989 (Hall, 1995, 25). The latest coat of whitewash may date to this transformation.

The Needle from the northern corridor is worn, especially the rounded arch of the opening (Fig.4.9). There is also a grid-like graffito inscribed in the western side of the recess, which although undateable, is indicative of at least one visitor marking their visit to the Needle (Fig.4.9). A Perspex screen now blocks the Needle, probably installed in 1974 (Fig.4.9). Artefacts may have been passed through the Needle, and the bodies of children and babies would seem more probable bodies to have been passed through (if they really were) given the small proportions of this aperture. Although the Needle is now blocked, the ledge beneath it is heavily worn and stained a red-brown colour from persistent touch from inside the main chamber, although there is yet to be any serious investigation of erosion patterns in the crypt (Fig.4.9). On one visit this author saw a small clutch of flowers left on the ledge and the stone platform beneath it. The revived memory of the Needle continues to stimulate haptic interaction with the crypt, long after the Reformation.

Subterranean Summary

Rather than focussing on the supernatural entities (saintly or otherwise) in subterranean places, or the material culture deposited in them; part one of this chapter has engaged with the bodily postures and senses stimulated by underground spaces of the saints. Small subterranean spaces were major features of England's early medieval mortuary culture of the special dead. They were dark and often disorientating. They might have shafts for dropping offerings or lowering items to absorb virtus. Crypts provided narrow descents underground and group visits would have been hot, cramped affairs. Foramina and aperture shrines offered tight crawl spaces or holes for inserting heads, hands or limbs. Visitors had to stoop, bow, crawl, kneel or lie down since these microarchitectures demanded certain submissive postures

from the living body to encounter the dead. They also segregated groups because they were so small and narrow, providing a more individualised experience of the saints compared to the later theatrical vistas of the elevated shrines (see following section).

It should be remembered that these underground spaces were not destinations in their own right. Although the goal of pilgrims in crypts and tombs was not to take up residence there like Guthlac in his barrow, they were transformed by them, as was Guthlac. Subterranean sites were architectural catalysts for fulfilling the desires of the living through the remains of the dead. They were mid-way points or stations on a journey to physical healing which was completed once the victim emerged from underground. The retrieval of the lowered *brandea*, the ascent from the crypt, and the exit from the foramina were all potentially lowered with important transformative Christian symbolism.

The pseudo-Roman 'catacomb' at Ripon, its counterpart at Hexham, and the Roman-style ring-crypt at Canterbury were created as a sign of solidarity with the Roman Church and to establish papal power in the English Church. Roman masonry was re-used in the construction of Ripon's crypt and the late Anglo-Saxon bishops at Canterbury believed their crypt was a Roman building. In this respect, the relics of Continental saints housed in Ripon's crypt were physically in Ripon but conceptually in Rome. The crypt acted as a portal not only to the underworld but to a pseudo-Rome of the special dead.

Since intent does not equal impact, Wilfrid's intention to re-create Roman catacombs may not have been the way pilgrims immediately or wholly perceived it. Barrows and subterranean architectural features, such as crypts, shared conceptual ground in early medieval England. They both had overtones of treasure stored in the various subterranean places in the Anglo-

Saxon landscape (Williams, 2015, 88-9). Barrows, mausolea, crypts and oratories contained the burials of the special, elite dead (Williams, 2015, 88-9).

Crawl spaces, such as St Wilfrid's Needle and St Thomas' foramina tomb, through which limbs were passed or bodies could squeeze through, reveal a long-term interest in whole-body interactions with mortuary (micro)architecture. The foramina depicted in this chapter were not overtly decorative tombs and are certainly very plain compared to the later canopied and bejewelled shrines discussed in the following section. Pilgrims were not visiting for a visual experience as much as a haptic encounter. If Cambridge (2013) is correct, and Ripon's crypt was built in part to compensate for a less impressive suite of secondary relics of foreign saints, then it suggests the effect the crypt had on the body and its senses was as important to veneration as the relics themselves. Yet these visits were not necessarily comfortable experiences. Ripon's crypt, and similar spaces, may have presented a troubling, even potentially traumatic time.

Moreover, the body of the saints in the cases of *tropaion* and foramina tombs were not visible. They were not absent, since these structures covered the burials, but nor were they directly exposed. They were encountered through touch rather than sight. Yet the naked bones of saints were not permanently exposed either. Why this option did not dominate English post-mortem practice is now considered.

PART 2: HAPTIC ACCESS TO THE ELEVATED DEAD

Since the 7th century, buried saints had been 'elevated' or exhumed and curated above-ground to create greater access and situate them in a more exalted position (Nilson, 1998, 70). For example, when St Cuthbert of Durham was relocated to a coffer in 698, it was justified that a

miracle-working holy man such as he should not lie in the 'damp earth' as it was 'unjust and ungrateful' (quoted in Bartlett, 2013, 283). Yet there seems to have been a desire to avoid prolonged exposure of saint's bones once exhumed. The *De Abbatius* written after 803 at Lindisfarne mentions a curious incident highlighting such an anxiety. The bones of Ultan, a revered Irish monk at Lindisfarne, were exhumed, washed, and left to dry in the sun (Thomas, 1973, 16). However, two strange, multi-coloured singing birds descended from the sunbeams and covered his naked skull with their wings (Thomas, 1973, 16). They did not depart until Ultan's skeletal hand had been placed on the forehead of a sick monk and he was healed (Thomas, 1973, 16). The veracity of this account is not the primary concern here, but rather the anxiety this tale expresses about prolonged exposure of saintly bones and its mitigation by veiling it. To what degree Ultan's exhumation is synechdotal of tensions between touching the saints and seeing their remains is the basis of this discussion.

Canterbury cathedral: Elevation of the Saints

There was no standard location for shrines in pre-Conquest churches (Biddle, 1986, 11-13). However, following the Norman rebuilding of churches, major shrines containing elevated saints were increasingly located at the east end of churches, normally in front or behind the high altar (Nilson, 1998, 67). The shrine-tombs of saints of equal standing would flank an altar (Nilson, 1998, 67).

This arrangement has been reconstructed for Canterbury's pre-1067 building by synthesising modern excavations with monk Eadmer's childhood recollection (Brooks, 1995, 33). The principal altar was the 'altar of Christ' in the raised sanctuary at the east end, flanked to the north by St Alphege's tomb (d.1012), and to the south by St Oda's (d.958) tomb (Brooks, 1995, 33). The altar of St Wilfrid (d.709), containing his alleged relics, was further east of

this arrangement (Brooks, 1995, 33). Directly underneath this area was the ambulatory crypt hosting St Dunstan's tomb (d.998) who was the principal saint before St Thomas (Brooks, 1995, 33). A tall stone column described by Eadmer as a 'pyramid' stood directly above Dunstan's crypt tomb in the choir (Brooks, 1995, 33-4; Rubenstein, 1999, 290). This arrangement pre-dated Becket's centripetal cult, which focussed on his shrine in Trinity chapel, and his foramina immediately below in the crypt. Instead, the pre-Lanfrancian interior was a "showcase for the cathedral's relics" (Rubenstein, 1999, 290).

The exact style of the pre-1067 tomb-shrines is unknown as Eadmer unhelpfully uses the term 'pyramis' which simply means a raised monument (Crook, 2011, 77-8). However, Osbern reports at least four blind persons healed by touching Dunstan's tomb-shrine (Crook, 2011, 77-8). Eadmer also reported numerous miracles at Dunstan's tomb-shrine involving sweet smells alerting petitioners to his presence and individuals touching or sitting next to his shrine awaiting his help (Turner & Muir, 2006, 160- 212). The idea that sight could be restored through touch and that seeing was not necessary to invoke saints, echoes through these accounts.

The 1067 fire destroyed the tomb-shrines in Canterbury's Anglo-Saxon cathedral but the bones were salvaged (Crook, 2011, 122-4). The new Norman cathedral commissioned by Archbishop Lanfranc was based on the church at Caen and had an ambiguous relationship with existing saints' bones. Crook (2011, 122, 124) argues they were not a focal point in the new church and Rubenstein (1999) persuasively states the Anglo-Saxon saints were briefly though noticeably treated in a dismissive manner by Lanfranc. Eadmer, who witnessed the rebuilding, recalled how the minor saints, probably including St Auoden and the Anglo-Saxon archbishops, were placed in individual wooden boxes in an upper room on the

northern side of the church (Rubenstein, 1999, 291; Crook, 2011, 123). This was probably the clerestory (first-floor) chapel in the north transept where daily mass occurred (Crook, 2011, 123).

St Wilfrid's relics were placed above an altar "outside the choir", accessible only by staircase; this may be the same upper room (Rubenstein, 1999, 291). In a letter contesting Glastonbury's claim to St Dunstan, Eadmer argues they could not have stolen his bones because they had been stored "in a place to which they could find no access" (quoted in Rubenstein, 1999, 291). It is unclear where Dunstan's and Alphege's remains were housed, having been temporarily stored in the refectory during building work and they may have been housed in the same wooden boxes above the north transept (Rubenstein, 1999, 290).

The Cantabrian monks are strangely silent regarding the form of the new tomb-shrines and there is no mention of the important festival which should accompany the translation of major saints to their new homes once building work was completed (Rubenstein, 1999, 291). Not a single pilgrimage miracle is recorded during Lanfranc's office nor any mention of individuals approaching St Dunstan's tomb for a miracle (Rubenstein, 1999, 292). Instead, it is Christ who is credited with miracles (Rubenstein, 1999, 293). Both Osbern's and Eadmer's recollection of a fellow monk, Edward, secretly approaching the 'tomb' of Dunstan one night seems to have occurred after Lanfranc's death, although the location of the monument is not mentioned and may still have been in the north transept (Rubenstein, 1999, 293). Thus the bishop-saints could be seen daily but were out-of-reach in their new positions. At St Albans, Matthew Paris reported how Lanfranc's nephew, Abbot Paul, removed all the Anglo-Saxon tombs, decrying them as 'uncouth illiterates' which Matthew Paris argued was because he either despised the English or envied their royal lineages (Rubenstein, 1999, 295).

Elevating saints in caskets on beams was not a new idea, however. Oswald the Archbishop of York did exactly this to St Wilfrid at Ripon in 979, placing the bones from his sarcophagus in a chest on the north side of the church, probably elevated on a beam (Fowler, 1882c, 20; Barton, Punshon & Ripon Dean & Chapter, 2002, 24). However, just 14 years later in 992 the bones were retrieved from the chest and placed in a shrine probably located at the east end of the north choir aisle (Fowler, 1882c, 10; Hallett, 1901, 16). Other than its location, nothing else is known about this shrine, but the elevation seems to have been a temporary measure, possibly for safety since Ripon's monastery had recently been burned to the ground by King Eadred (d.955) and building work was on-going (Thacker, 2004). The remains of St Werburgh may have been elevated in a casket on a beam above an altar where the saint could rest while awaiting a proper shrine (Newbolt, 1933, 13). This was more likely a pragmatic for a church without any underground chapels or a crypt (Newbolt, 1933, 13). This is conjecture, however, and her relics had been enshrined by at least the 12th century when it was used for swearing legal oaths (Tait, 1923, 272).

Ridyard (1988) rejected a long-standing interpretation of the new Norman clergy as anti-Saxon, arguing their refusal to accept the indigenous saints was short-lived since it would have destabilised their ecclesiastical authority. Rubenstein (1999), focussing on Canterbury, agreed that while Lanfranc's dismissal of pre-existing saints was indeed brief and not motivated by anti-English sentiment. Lanfranc was, however, suspicious of the claims to sainthood for the old archbishops, and his doubts manifested in a very noticeable and very unpopular manner amongst the monks (Rubenstein, 1999, 302-3). Eadmer was particularly critical of Lanfranc's new arrangement because the relics could not be physically interacted with (Rubenstein, 1999, 302-3). For Eadmer, the monks needed to be able to:

> "...prostrate their entire bodies before the relics. With bended knee they cast

> themselves to the earth. Face downward the suppliants to the saints hurl themselves. And the saints before God, do they stand rigid, closing off their ears and caring nothing for such things? Who would say such a thing? The devotion of the suppliants will not be futile, it will not be vain, it will not lack grace." (translated by Rubenstein, 1999, 303).

This meant during Lanfranc's archbishopric (d.1089) Osbern had to throw his arms around the middle of St Dunstan's memorial monument (probably in the monastic choir) to help prove his own innocence during a lawsuit, rather than swear on his bones (Crook, 2011, 124). Touching relics to swear oaths and pledges is known from the Bayeux tapestry (Fig.4.11). The bodies of saints could also be kissed by worthy attendees, such as Henry II kissing Saint-King Edward the Confessor's corpse in 1163 (Fig.4.12). The legal and devotional importance of touching saints may explain why elevated caskets were a relatively short-lived arrangement at both Canterbury and Ripon, and possibly Chester as well.

Auoden (Rubenstein, 2004). An angelic vision appeared to another monk, Aelfwine, lying prostrate before the altar in the north transept. They were singing the night office for St Wilfrid but since this was inadequate so they stopped and ascended the staircase into the upper room to prostrate themselves in front of St Wilfrid's 'tomb' (Rubenstein, 1999, 304). The message was clear: singing was not enough and the relics had to be physically interacted with (Rubenstein, 1999, 304). Sometime between Lanfranc's death and Anselm's arrival as the new archbishop, the monks relocated St Wilfrid's relics to what they described as a 'fixed location' on the north side of the church to restore such access (Rubenstein, 1999, 303).

Fig.4.11. King Harold of England swears on holy relics in the Bayeux Tapestry *c.*1080. (Wikipedia Creative Commons License).

Fig.4.12. King Henry II of England kisses the corpse of Edward the Confessor as it is transferred to a new shrine in 1163. (Cambridge University Library, Ee.3.59, fo. 36r reproduced in Wall, 1905, 225).

Following Lanfranc's death, the Canterbury monks began to restore physical access to the Anglo-Saxon saints. Eadmer and Osbern surreptitiously climbed the spiral staircase into the chapel and opened up the contents of the caskets to investigate and verify the relics of St

The bones of SS Dunstan and Alphege were re-housed in new tombs in 1180 (Nilson, 1998, 29-30). Their unnamed grave-goods were reinterred with them, wrapped in palls bound with linen girdles (Nilson, 1998, 29-30). Prior Eastry's inventory of 1315 places Dunstan north of the high altar and Alphege to the south in their pre-1067 positions; Odo was south of the corona and Wilfrid opposite him; and Anselm's remains were in a shrine of SS Peter and Paul (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 45, 283-5). While this brought them back to ground level, their wooden coffins were sealed into the tombs with lead, rather than their remains being placed in *feretra* (caskets or chests) on top of the tombs (Nilson, 1998, 33). Six boxes of bones of unnamed minor saints seem to have been kept in caskets (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 45, 283-5), although some of these may have made up the contents of the Great Relic cupboard by the 14th century making them physically accessible again.

Exposure and Humiliation of the saints

By severely limiting haptic veneration of Canterbury's saints, Lanfranc was simultaneously disempowering the saints and disconnecting the living from them. The importance of touch in pre-Conquest cults did not end with the Norman rebuilding, despite brief localised attempts. Lanfranc's decision was clearly contested by the monks, and shortly after his death, they were retrieving the saints from storage for renewed physical access. What is also apparent from this episode is that Lanfranc expressed his doubts about their legitimacy as saints by restricting access to their remains. This was a way of subtly undermining and disrespecting their claims to sainthood.

At the other end of the spectrum was the humiliation of the saints by deliberately over-exposing their bones. Saints could be physically humiliated by clergy in special ceremonies as punishment for failing to help (Angenendt, 2010, 24). Despite the Second Council of

Lyon's (1274) ban on humiliation ceremonies, they continued throughout the medieval period (Angenendt, 2010, 24). A reduced liturgy would be performed in lower voices; clergy would not wear their ritual vestments; fewer candles were lit; a cross and the saint's uncovered bones would be placed on a penance mat in front of the (high) altar, and thorns would cover the saint's tomb (Angenendt, 2010, 24). Exposing the remains in this manner humiliated the saint by appearing 'naked' in public in the same manner living clergy would lie prostrate and unclothed for penance.

Saints with Physical Bodies

To fully appreciate humiliation through exposure, it must be remembered that saints were thought to have corporeal bodies as well as spiritual presences. Around 1124 Eadmer reported that the monk Elias saw St Dunstan trying to escape his own tomb, but failed as the lid was too heavy (Nilson, 1998, 4; Southern, 1972, 154-5). A story also circulated that in the late 12th-century, King Henry II called forth Becket's body from his to answer accusations of treason, disobedience to the crown, and rebellion (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 82-3). After 30 days of no voice or appearance from shrine, Henry declared Becket neither saint nor martyr and Becket-centred iconoclasm ensued (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 82-3).

Thirteenth-century stained glass window still extant depicts Becket projecting half-way out of his shrine as if physically living inside it (Nilson, 1998, 4). After 1313, Becket's tomb was called 'the place where the glorious martyr abode' in Canterbury's Polistorie, emphasising the concept of him physically living in the tomb even though his remains were incomplete (quoted in Nilson, 1998, 4). Henry Bradshaw (1887 [*c.*1513], 168 ll.1092-3) tells how St Werburgh appeared in physical form at the bedside of a canon with a broken foot, and healed him by touching it. St Werburgh could also send real doves to save her worshippers, rescuing

an innocent man from the gibbet by pecking through the rope (Bradshaw, 1887 [*c.*1513], 164 ll.970).

Thus humiliation ceremonies were not aimed at the embodied saint, physically present not only through their bones but a corporeal form which could interact with the living. How the bones were exposed was not only debasing for the saint but potentially able to inflict actual pain on their bodies.

The contrast between these two forms of humiliation centres on exposure. Lanfranc's brief but powerful disrespect of Canterbury's saints involved hiding them away from the monks and the public. Their identities were conserved by keeping them individual caskets but they were stripped of a physical presence. Formal humiliation of ineffective saints displaced their bones in an inverted ritual, leaving them naked, away from their designated containers, for a prolonged period of time. Thorns on the emptied tomb were a way of physically harming the assumed corporeality of these saints. Indeed, it is the materiality of the skeletal or embalmed body which can be touched and thus punished. Therefore, a careful balance had to be maintained between under and over exposing saintly bones for haptic access.

Displaying the Bones of the Saints

Permanent exposure of embalmed saints' bodies, body parts or skeletal remains in glass cases was an accepted and widespread Continental practice (Krueger, 2010, 10). Unlike humiliation ceremonies, proper liturgy was observed and the bones were technically contained. Open displays of saintly bodies and bones peaked in the high Middle Ages when these displays human relics were strategically elevated and positioned, and carefully lit for additional effect (Angenendt, 2010, 25).

This was despite the fact that, originally, human relics were supposed to be covered with textiles (Angenendt, 2010, 25). Thus an interest in viewing naked bones in Continental churches began to override the rules of the Church. This stricture was circumvented by displaying the bodies or skeletons dressed in rich fabrics (Angenendt, 2010, 25). Permanent exposure became so prevalent that Thiofrid of Echternach (d.1110) argued against the practice (Angenendt, 2010, 25). He stated that just as the physical sacraments of bread and wine hid within the intangible, sacred flesh and blood of Christ, so sacred relics must be hidden within and beneath physical barriers (Angenendt, 2010, 25). Yet his words seem to have fallen on deaf ears as, a century later, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was forced to repeat the rule that "old honourable relics should not be shown outside a reliquary" (quoted in Angenendt, 2010, 26). Nevertheless, open display continued, and the Council's dictate was satisfied by placing human relics in glass or crystal containers (Angenendt, 2010, 26). Technically the remains were 'covered' but still very visible.

Yet this Continental practice does not seem to have gained traction in England. Rather than open-arcaded shrines displaying embalmed saints (Fig.4.13) or glass cases with bejewelled skeletons, the English shrines took two basic forms: the aforementioned foramina, and locked *feretrum* (large metal reliquaries) atop elevated stone shrines (e.g. Crook, 2011, 131, 148, 221-44). Both types hid the body or bones of the saint from view. The later shrines of Saints Alban, Amphibalus, Thomas, and Werburgh, which appear between the late 12th century and early 14th century, took the latter form as the foramina was phased out (Crook, 2011, 213-33). The tension this created between exposure and the control of haptic access is worthy of an initial exploration. This is first prefaced with a brief overview of each of these shrines and the haptic access the new shrines offered.

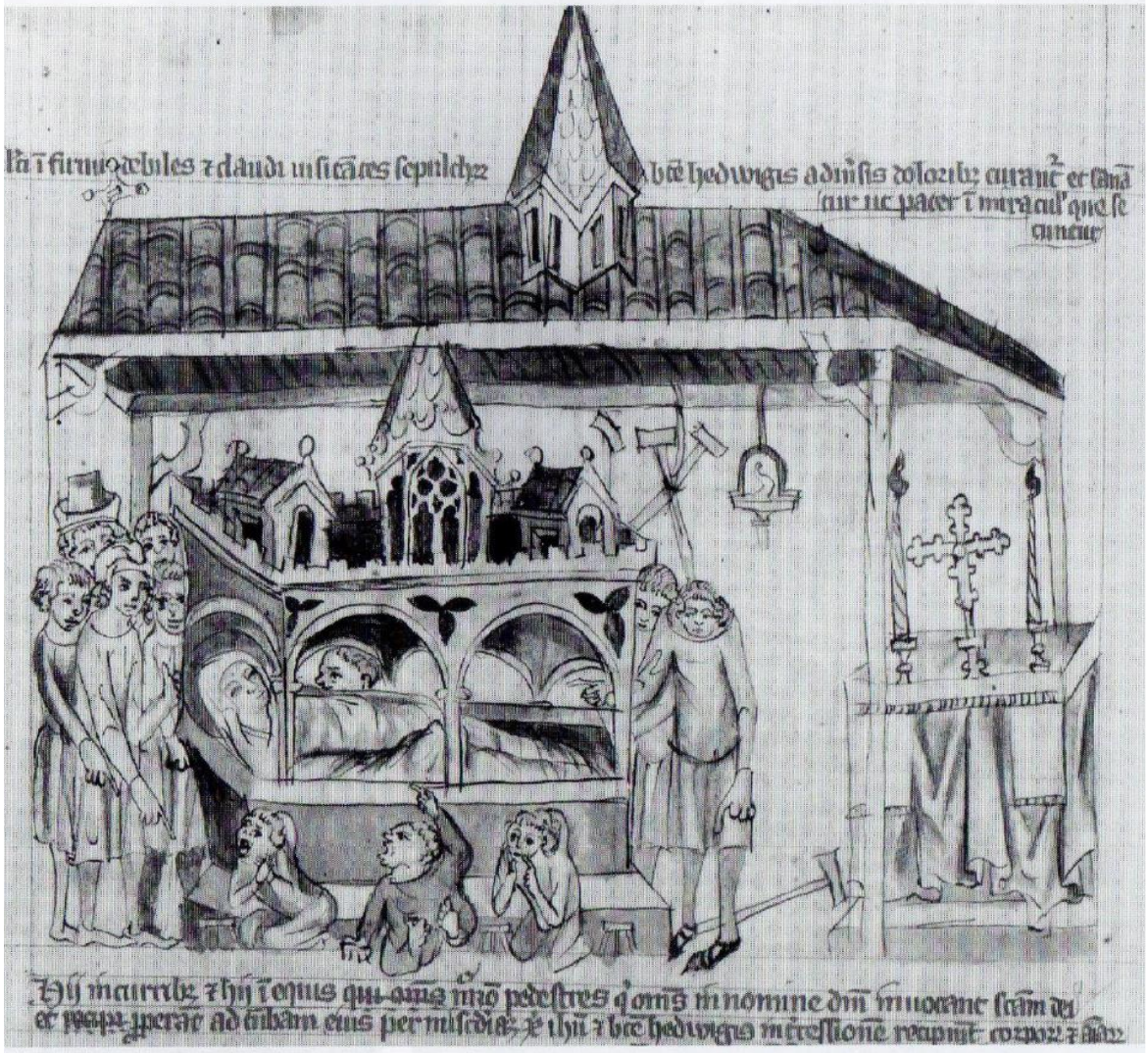


Fig.4.13 Pilgrims visiting the tomb of St Hedwig, Berlin 1335 (Blick, 2005, fig.39).

St Albans: St Alban's 12th century shrine

A new reliquary to hold the remains of St Alban began in 1124 by Anketill the Dane and finished by 1129 (Crook, 2011, 141, 143). According to Matthew Paris, an 'Abbot Eadmer' (about whom nothing else is known) had conducted his own excavations in the Roman town of Verulamium, in which the abbey was situated, and found antique cameos (Crook, 2011, 142-3). These cameos had first been kept as church treasures and occasionally sold as poor relief (Crook, 2011, 143). A selection was then attached to the new reliquary by Anketill.However, there was one massive intaglio, donated by King Aethelred II, which

could not be used for the reliquary. It depicted a woman in rags holding a serpent-wrapped spear in one hand and a shield-bearing child in the other, and an eagle sat at her feet with its wings spread (Crook, 2011, 143). Paris describes this intaglio as too big to be held in one hand and it was instead kept in the abbey as a talisman for women in childbirth (although how it was used is unclear). However, the intaglio was not allowed to touch the shrine of St Alban, or be inserted in it, for fear the intaglio would lose its power and efficacy (Crook, 2011, 143).

Paris describes St Alban's new shrine as an altar-tomb with pillars supporting a plate-gold canopy shaped like towers, the underside of which was inlaid with crystals (St Albans, 1815, 38). The base had apertures to represent windows into the tomb (St Albans, 1815, 38). The lozenge-shaped apertures in two of the quatrefoils were designed for people to reach inside the shrine (Peers & Page, 1908, 494-5). A series of ten niches, four on each side and one at either end, encircle the upper register and these were also haptic access points (Peers & Page, 1908, 495).

The relics of St Alban were inside a box embossed with high-relief gold and silver figures depicting key events in Alban's life (St Albans, 1815, 38). This box was inside a coffin, which was inside the shrine (St Albans, 1815, 38). The east end of the shrine had a large crucifixion scene decorated with a row of 'very brilliant' jewels (St Albans, 1815, 38). At the west end the Madonna and Child sat on a cast gold throne, richly embossed and bejewelled and enriched with expensive bracelets (St Albans, 1815, 38). Although the upper shrine, which contained the relics, has long gone, there is a hook in the vault above it which probably held the pulley for raising and lowering the wooden canopy (Peers & Page, 1908, 495).
St Albans' remains had been relocated multiple times since 1129 and the shrine probably

contained replacement bones by the 1480s (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 227). In the late 15th century Abbot William Wallingford (1476-*c.*1484) built the stone screen behind the high altar which completely hid St Alban's shrine from the presbytery (Page, 1902, 487). The altar of St Alban was at the west end of his shrine (Peers & Page, 1908, 493).

The 14th century shrine was the last to be built and fragments of the shrine base, dating to *c.*1350, were found in the eastern arches of the Feretory (Peers & Page, 1908, 490, 494). It was reassembled by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1872 at the east end of the north presbytery aisle, where it had stood (or thereabouts) between 1323 and 1350 (Peers & Page, 1908, 490, 494; Crook, 2011, 208). The Purbeck marble slab from the 12th-century shrine has survived and, having been carefully identified by Martin Biddle (2001), was incorporated into the modern reconstruction. The present shrine of St Alban was re-restored in the early 1990s (Crook, 2011, 207). According to Biddle (2001), the marble slab was probably installed beneath the later 14th-century shrine as a contact relic from the earlier shrine and survived Reformation demolition because it was left in the floor.

St Albans: St Amphibalus' 12th century shrine

Just seven years after Becket's martyrdom, St Albans Abbey 'discovered' another saint connected with St Alban, undoubtedly to raise the profile of the abbey's cult of another indigenous saint. St Amphibalus was a character in the St Alban martyrdom narratives; a British priest who hid Alban from his Roman persecutors shortly before Alban's death (Crook, 2011, 209). 'Amphibalus' means 'cloak', referring to Alban and his mentor swapping cloaks as part of their escape plan (Crook, 2011, 209). His actual name is not recorded. The burial of St Amphibalus was 'found' in 1177 under Abbot Symon (Crook, 2011, 209). His remains were retrieved from what is very likely an Anglo-Saxon barrow burial at Redbourn

(Meaney, 1969, 104-5). His remains were placed in what Paris calls a *locellus*; a small box or casket, about which we have no further details (Crook, 2011, 209). Symon's successor, Warin (1183–1195: also 'Caryne'), replaced the *locellus* with a gold and silver feretrum or portable reliquary (Crook, 2011, 209).

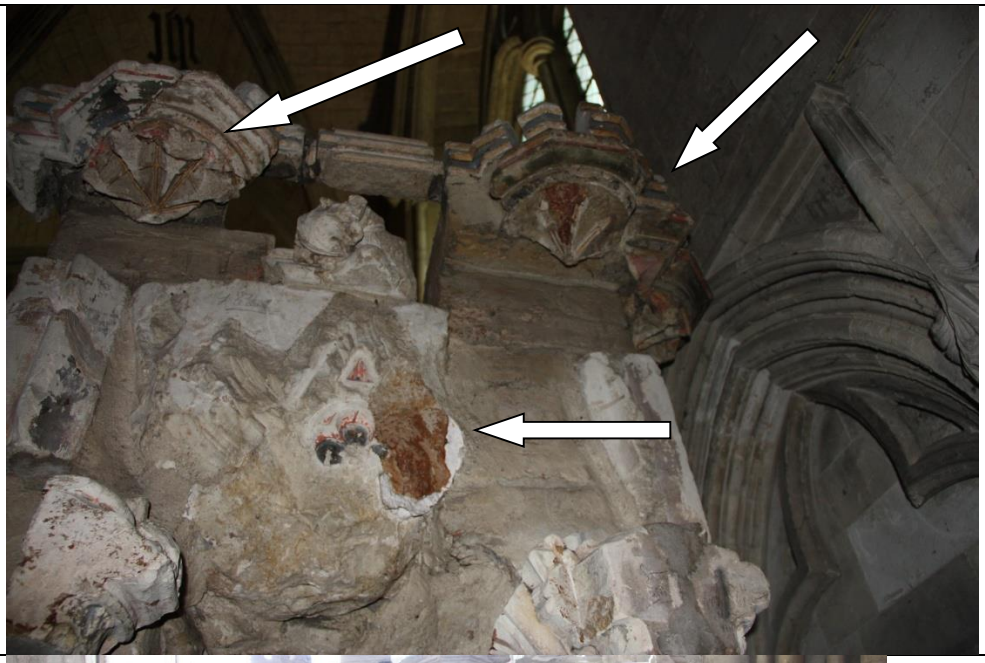
The freshly exhumed relics of St Amphibalus were first set-up immediately north of St Alban's shrine in 1178 (Peers & Page, 1908, 493). Eight years later a shrine was built to house his bones, installed in 1186, along with a second reliquary containing the bones of other 'martyrs' found during St Amphibalus' exhumation (Crook, 2011, 209). Both these reliquaries were originally placed on a wall to the right of the altar, on the south side of the presbytery (Crook, 2011, 209). In the early 13th century it was relocated by Abbot William of Trumpington (1214–1235) to the Rood altar (Peers & Page, 1908, 493-4).

St Amphibalus' feretrum was divided into two compartments (Crook, 2011, 209). One had seven tied bundles, each containing the relics of St Amphibalus or one of the three individuals found with him (Crook, 2011, 209). The other compartment had six more bundles of human remains, also allegedly found with the saint, and these were kept with numerous altar cloths (Crook, 2011, 209). The jaw of St Amphibalus was adorned with gold, silver, and crystals by monk William Westwyke during the abbacy of William of Trumpington (d.1235) (Lloyd, 1873, 11). The wrapping and plating of individual relics, even those locked away, may have been as much a preservative measure as a way of expressing care and decency towards the saint. However, microboundaries segregating and concealing relics such as these could be symptomatic of subtle, wider anxieties with overexposing the bones as well.

The surviving clunch base is similar though not identical to St Alban's shrine base (Peers &

Page, 1908, 490). Given the degree of deliberate symmetry between the shrines of Alban and Amphibalus and their shared narrative, it is highly probable that St Amphibalus' shrine also had a canopy. Some surviving shrine fragments still bear the original polychromy (Fig.4.14); a reminder of the paintwork which decorated and advertised the shrine, and which would have been vulnerable to rubbing away if repeatedly touched.

a.



b.

Fig.4.14 St Albans Cathedral: St Amphibalus' Shrine a. polychromy on the southern canopy b. Western side of the shrine and canopy

Canterbury: St Thomas' Shrine in 1220

Following the death of Becket in 1170 and the cathedral fire of 1174, Trinity Chapel was made large enough to accommodate a new shrine for St Thomas (Gibson, 1995, 63). The Corona to its east was for housing the fragment of Becket's own 'corona' (crown of the skull) which had been sliced off during his murder, thus creating two separate but proximate points of corporeal veneration (Gibson, 1995, 63). Trinity Chapel was finished *c.*1180 and the Corona *c.*1200 (Gibson, 1995, 63). During this time, St Thomas remained buried in the crypt beneath the foramina tomb-shrine.

A new shrine for St Thomas was completed in 1220 by Walter of Colchester (Crook, 2011, 217). Becket's remains were translated by Archbishop Stephen Langton on 7th July 1220 from the foramina to this new shrine in Trinity Chapel, which immediately stimulated the (re-)enshrinement of local saints throughout western Christendom (Crook, 2011, 213). There is no documented evidence of the 1220 shrine being reconstructed after the first translation and was very probably the same shrine demolished in 1538, albeit embellished and refurbished (Crook, 2011, 215). St Thomas' empty foramina, or 'Becket's tomb', stayed in the crypt and remained the most sacred area of the cathedral until the Reformation (Crook, 2011, 215; Stanley, 1911, 101).

Thus four stations were established for Becket's cult at Canterbury: his shrine in Trinity Chapel; the Corona where his head was; the Martyrdom where relics of his murder were; and his empty tomb in the crypt (Nilson, 1998, 211). Parts of the shrine base are believed to exist in the Museum of Canterbury although they are not diagnostic pieces and reveal nothing about the shrine's form (Urry, 1975, 204-6; Crook, 2011, 217-8).

The new shrine is poorly described; Matthew Paris simply calls it a *theca* (case) 'of the finest refined gold and most precious stones' (translation in Crook, 2011, 216). A stained glass window in Trinity chapel ambulatory has an early 13th century scene of Becket emerging from a six-legged table shrine above a sleeping monk [possibly Benedict or William, the authors of early *Miracula* written 1172-4] (Caviness, 1981, 187; Crook, 2011, 216). Crook (2011, 214) argues these windows were created before the real shrine was finished, so they depict pre-existing pillar-typed shrines, such as the 12th century shrines at Durham cathedral and St Albans abbey (Crook, 2011, 214-5). Caviness (1981, 34), however, believed "the design of the shrine, if not the shrine itself was available to the glass painter as a model". These, however, were slowly being replaced by solid structures with niches (Crook, 2011, 216) such as the 13th shrines of SS Alban and Amphibalus, and the late 13th/early 14th shrine of St Werburgh.

Blick (2005) has attempted to reconstruct the 1220 shrine from brief descriptions in 13th and 14th century accounts, 15th and 16th century reports from foreign visitors, and pilgrim badges depicting the shrine. None of these sources are without problems but Blick (2005, 433-6) adds an effigy to the shrine based on the pilgrim badges and comparison with the rare example of a brass effigy on the tomb-shrine of St Thomas Cantilupe (d.1282); another bishop who became a saint after the Norman Conquest.

Stanley (1911, 227-30) compiled a description of the shrine's setting from all surviving medieval accounts, which bears summarising here. The 'Altar of St. Thomas' stood at the head of the 1220 shrine, in front of the zodiac mosaic floor. Pilgrims would kneel on the pink-purple marble pavement and the furrow this created is still visible. This marked the extent to which most pilgrims could access Becket's shrine. Traces of the iron railings which

stood in front of the shrine can still be traced in the broken pavement. These gates would be opened only to those who had permission to go further. These seem to be diseased and disabled individuals who were allowed to 'ensconce' themselves in the lower stone arches of the shrine and rub their limbs or backs against them, as this was the closest they could physically get to the human remains (Stanley, 1911, 227-30).

The casket containing St Thomas' remains lay on top of the arches, hidden by a wooden canopy suspended from the ceiling (Stanley, 1911, 227). The canopy was probably painted with sacred scenes or images, as was St Cuthbert's wooden canopy at Durham (Stanley, 1911, 227). This deliberately rendered the part containing the body invisible, even to pilgrims kneeling in front of the railings or inside the arches (Stanley, 1911, 227). The canopy could be raised by ropes, revealing the gold and bejewelled upper shrine. The panels of this upper part were wooden but plated with gold, and encrusted with gold wire filigree, pearls, jewels, and rings (Stanley, 1911, 227-8). The canopy probably also had silver bells attached to it, as St Cuthbert's did, so that pilgrims around the cathedral would realise it was being raised and drop to their knees (Stanley, 1911, 228).

Becket's remains were in an iron chest inside the upper shrine and could only be seen by climbing a ladder, which was rarely allowed as recounted by Erasmus:

> Ogygius: "… He [Prior Goldstone II] opened for us the chest in which the rest of the holy man's [St Thomas] bones is said to lie"
>
> Menedemus: "You saw the bones?"
>
> Ogygius: "No, that's not allowed, nor would it be possible without the use of ladders. But within the wooden chest is a golden chest; when this is drawn up by ropes, it reveals inestimable treasure." (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 66).

While the pilgrims knelt in front of the shrine railings, the Prior or another member of the upper clergy, would announce in English then French the donor, value, and properties of each (major) jewel on the shrine by pointing to it with a white wand. 'The Regale of France', a jewel said to be the size of a hen's egg, had been donated by King Louis VII of France during his pilgrimage in 1179 to the foramina in the crypt (Stanley, 1911, 228-9, 276). This is depicted in a late 14th/early 15th century pilgrim badge (Fig.4.15).

When the canopy was lowered, pilgrims would use their prayer beads to petition St Thomas. Pilgrims would enter Trinity Chapel, where the 1220 shrine was located, via the southern choir steps and depart down the northern choir steps towards the Martyrdom (Stanley, 1911, 228-9). Where offerings were made is not mentioned but major stations such as the Sword Point in the Martyrdom, the shrine in Trinity Chapel, and Becket's head shrine in the Corona, are the most likely (Stanley, 1911, 230, 278). Silver brooches and rings were commonly offered by most pilgrims but royalty would offer jewels, money, textiles, spices, taper candles, cups of precious metal, or statues of themselves in gold or silver (Stanley, 1911, 230).

A manuscript known as '*The forme of the shrine of Tho Becket of Canterburye'* describes the decoration of the shrine at the time of the Reformation:

> "Al aboue the stoneworke was first of wood Jewells of gold set with stone covered with plates of gold, wrought uppon with gold wier [wire] then agayn with Jewells of gold brooches, images, angels, rings, 10. or 12. Together cramped with gold into the ground of gold The spoils of which filled two chests such as .6. or .8. Men could but conuay [convey] on out of the church at one side was a stone with an Angell of gold poynting therunto offred ther by a king of France which King Henry put into a ring and wear it on his thomb." (Crook, 2011, 216-7).

Fig.4.15 Pilgrim's Badge of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, 1350–1400 (© Metropolitan Museum, Acc. 2001.310). An angel touching Regale jewel with wand is circled.

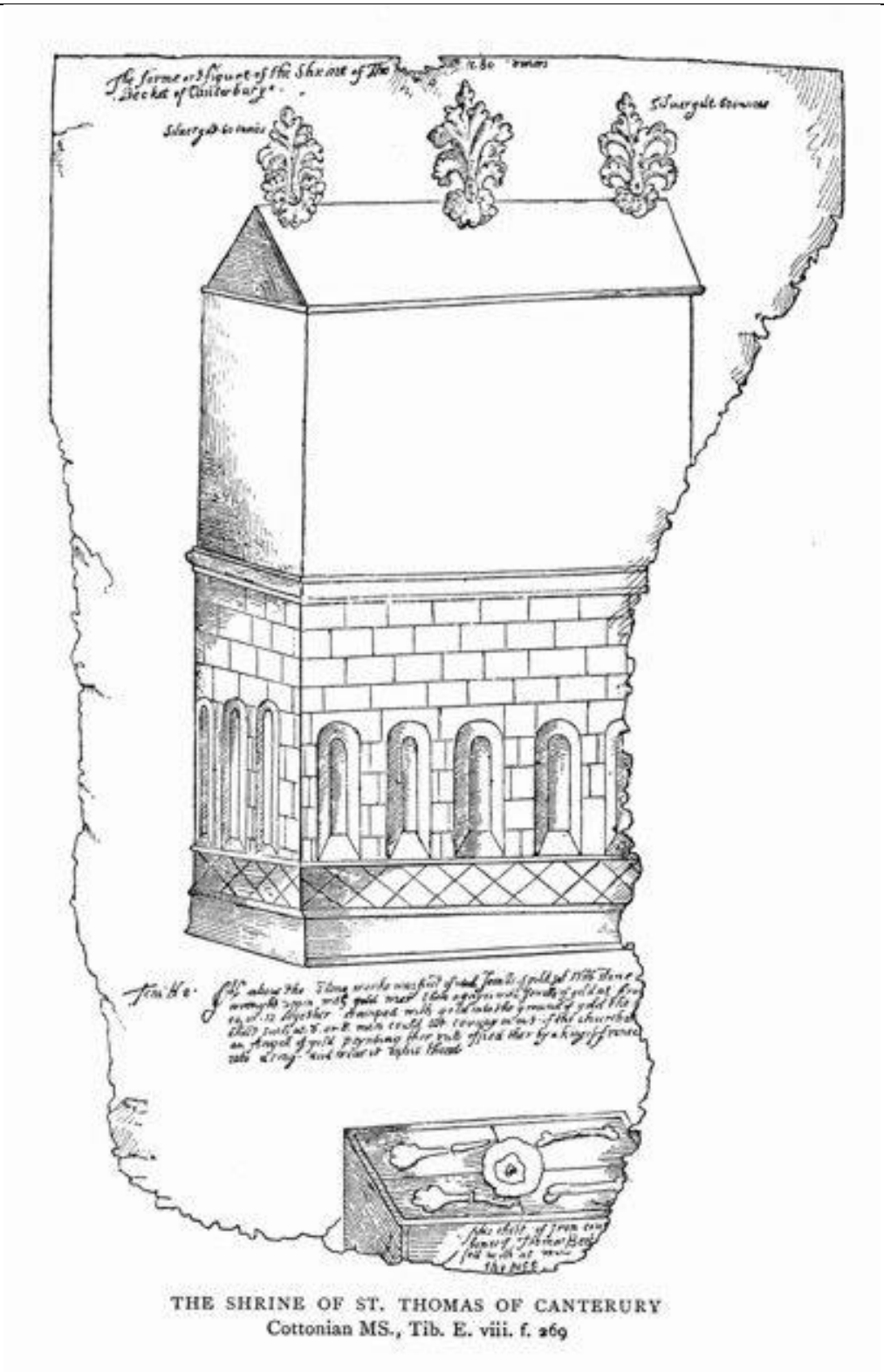
This angel figure, pointing to the shrine, is depicted on pilgrim badges from Canterbury. On one example, the area of the angel has been heavily worn (Fig.4.16). While this might be an unusually specific taphonomic effect since it is a stray find, the role of pilgrim badges as *brandea* may have been the cause, as the wearer rubbed it to invoke the *virtus* attached to it (Fig.4.16).

The manuscript also has a sketch of the supposed shrine (Fig.4.17) although Crook (2011, 217) questions its reliability because it was based on a translation of a verbal description, probably from John Stow's Annales of *c.*1538. At the bottom of the sketch is a picture of a chest or casket quartered into four compartments, similar to St Alban's feretrum. Each has a long bone placed lengthways and the skull and its cut-off piece in the centre. On the side of this chest is written: "This chest of iron contained the bones of Thomas Becket scull and all with the wounde of his death and the pece cut out of his scull layde in the same wounde" (Crook, 2011, 217). This was separately enshrined in the Corona as the 'head shrine'.

Visiting St Thomas' 1220 shrine

The nave was used as a holding ground for pilgrims who would be summoned to the shrine in groups (Nilson, 1998, 96-7). *The Customary of the Shrine of St Thomas*, written in 1428 by two of the shrines' guardians, states they would ring a bell three times before morning mass to announce the opening of the shrine (Nilson, 1998, 96). The doors to the choir were locked during lunch until noon and a junior clerk would assist pilgrims waiting at the rood screen (Nilson, 1998, 96). Escorted tours, as experienced by Erasmus, and queue-jumping were only for high-ranking visitors (Nilson, 1998, 96). Pilgrims could only reach the stone shrine base (pedestal) which they would rub themselves against, kiss, or scrap bits off and mix with water or oil as curative tonics and miraculous cures (Nilson, 1998, 99).

Fig.4.16 Pilgrim's Badge of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury (© Museum of London, image 005668). Angel touching Regale jewel with wand had been heavily worn (circled).



THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERURY
Cottonian MS., Tib. E. viii. f. 269

Fig. 4.17 Supposed sketch shrine of St Thomas (Crook, 2011, 217).

Erasmus provides a detailed, step-by-step account of his encounters with notable areas of Canterbury cathedral, several (hostile) custodians, and the relics themselves, relayed in a mocking style of discontent and cynicism towards relic veneration. In the Martyrdom (north-west transept) the relic of the sword point which snapped off upon impact with Becket's skull was on an altar, so Ogygius and his companions; "reverently kissed the sacred rust of this sword" (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 81). From there they entered the dark crypt where the Virgin Mary was venerated behind "a double row of iron rails" to protect her from theft because of the inordinate amount of wealth there (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 66). They were not shown everything because much of her treasure was only exposed to "people of the highest importance or to special friends [of the cathedral]" (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 66).

After the crypt Ogygius entered the sacristy where a chest with a black leather cover was brought out and placed on a table, and as it was opened they "Immediately worshipped on bended knee" (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 66-7) without realising what was inside:

> "Some linen rags many of them still showing traces of snivel [snot]. With these, they say, the holy man wiped the sweat from his face or neck, the dirt from his nose, or whatever other kinds of filth human bodies have. At this point my friend Gratian again displayed imperfect manners. To him, since he was English, and a well-known person of considerable standing, the prior kindly offered one of the rags as a gift, thinking he was giving him a present that would please him very much. But Gratian was hardly grateful for it. He touched the piece with his fingers, not without a sign of disgust, and put it back scornfully, puckering his lips as though whistling. (This is what he ordinarily did if he came across anything he thought despicable). Shame and alarm together embarrassed me dreadfully. But the prior, no stupid man, pretended not to notice this incident, and after offering us a glass of wine dismissed us kindly,

for we were returning to London." (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 67).

Having visited the crypt Ogygius went to the northern choir aisle where "mysteries are laid open" (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 81):

> "It is wonderful how many bones were brought forth - skulls, jaws, teeth, hands, fingers, whole arms, all of which we adored and kissed. This would have gone on forever if my fellow pilgrim, a disagreeable chap, had cut short the enthusiasm of the guide. […] An arm was brought forth, with the bloodstained flesh still on it. He shrank from kissing this, looking rather disgusted. The custodian soon put his things away." (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 81-2).

He also saw St Thomas' staff: "a cane plated with silver. It was not at all heavy, had no ornamentation, and was no more than waist-high." (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 82). The fact he comments on its weight means he was allowed to handle it. They were also shown "a facecloth, soiled with sweat from his [St Thomas] neck and preserving obvious spots of blood" which they "gladly kissed" because they were rarely shown to visitors, but 'Ogygius' had a letter of recommendation from Archbishop Warham (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 83).

St Thomas' water - water infused with dilutions of Thomas Becket's blood - was said to be a miraculous curative in late 12th century Canterbury (Crook, 2011, 17). Oil was also a popular contact liquid, poured through shrines and over saintly bodies, then collected by pilgrims, as at the tomb of St Felix (described by Paulinus of Nola), and the later medieval shrine of St William at York Minster as in Fig.4.18 (Crook, 2011, 16). St Wulfstan's water was available at Worcester (Crook, 2011, 20). The dust around St Julian of Brioude's tomb was supposedly able to heal pilgrims, including Gregory of Tours' brother, Peter the Deacon

(Crook, 2011, 17). Water used to clean St Martin's tomb at Easter was used as a cure in epidemics (Crook, 2011, 17). These liquids were not just kept as relics but imbibed as

Fig.4.18 Disabled men collect holy oil from the shrine of St William of York. *c.*1415. Window at York Minster. Dean & Chapter of York © (Eavis, 2010).

Fig.4.19. Man cured by eating mortar from the shrine of St William of York *c.*1415. Window at York Minster. (Wikipedia Creative Commons License).

medicines (Crook, 2011, 16-17). This also allowed pilgrims to keep and taste the saint's body or bodily fluids without being present at the shrine.

The last recorded visit to Becket's shrine was by Madame de Montreuil in August 1538, as she travelled from France to the Scottish Court (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 82-1). De Montreuil's encounter with Becket's human relics was recorded by her companion William Penison, and reproduced in Woodruff & Danks (1912, 81-2). St Thomas' head-shrine in the Corona was opened by the custodian for her in a ritualised manner, briefly uncovering it three times saying 'this is Becket's head' on each exposure (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 81). However, de Montreuil refused to kneel on the provided cushion or kiss the skull fragments, which were offered to her on the third opening. According to Penison, de Montreuil was more interested in the riches of his shrines than physically venerating the bones which she seems to have found repulsive (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 82-1). The cynicism of Erasmus and distaste of Lady Montreuil towards haptic engagement with saintly relics foreshadowed the coming Dissolution of the Shrines.

Chester: St Werburgh's Shrine

According to the *Annales Cestriensis*, St Werburgh, formerly a nun at Ely, died around 690 at Threekingham Abbey (also: Trentham) in Lincolnshire (Christie, 1887, 10 also: Crook, 2011, 62; Hemingway, 1831, 287). St Werburgh had also founded Hanbury (Handbury) in Staffordshire and Weedon (Wedon) in Northamptonshire in the 7th century (Crook, 2011, 62). In 708 Werburgh's brother Cenred, the new king of Mercia, had his sister's body translated to Hanbury, her own nunnery, according to her wishes (Ormerod, 1819, 163; Newbolt, 1933, 7). During the exhumation, her body was found intact, fuelling pilgrimage to her new tomb, and allegedly inspiring Cenred to take Holy Orders (Christie, 1887, 10).

St Werburgh lay in a lavish shrine for around 175 years at Hanbury (Newbolt, 1933, 7). Around 875, however, the Danes overwintered at Repton, near Hanbury, and St Werburgh was supposedly sent to Chester for safe-keeping (Christie, 1887, 10). Her remains were disarticulated for the first time for travel to Chester (Crook, 2011, 62-3). There were secular canons, and then regular monks 'serving St Werburgh' at the monastery in Chester by 924 but the official foundation of the Abbey of St Werburgh did not occur until 1093 (Christie, 1887, 10-19).

The original siting of St Werburgh's shrine is unclear. St Werburgh's 14th-century shrine was located at the east end of the abbey, where the reconstruction now stands, although earlier versions of her shrine may have been in the north transept (Newbolt, 1933, 15). This is because the east end of the church, where shrines were traditionally housed in England near the high altar, was too ruinous and dangerous in Chester's 12th-century abbey (Newbolt, 1933, 15; Scott 1870). The north transept also contains the only substantial Norman building work in the form of a Romanesque archway which was unblocked in 1929 (Newbolt, 1933, 15).

There are no contemporary descriptions of any pre-Reformation versions of St Werburgh's shrine. Newbolt (1933, 10) conjectures that King Oswald was represented to the right of Werburgh's shrine because the monastery was originally a dual dedication to Werburgh and Oswald. St Werburgh's abbey also owned another major relic, the girdle of Thomas Becket, acquired in 1171 when the Bishops of Chester and Exeter re-consecrated Canterbury cathedral (Newbolt, 1933, 10). It is possible this was kept close to or even within St Werburgh's shrine. Since St Thomas' cult was internationally famous, a separate relic station for his girdle may have multiplied donations at Chester. The complete shrine originally bore

40 sculpted figures, each around 14inches (35.5cm) high (Newbolt, 1933, 17).

The feretory would have had a moveable (wooden) cover, as at St Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, St Thomas' at Canterbury, and St Alban's at St Albans (Newbolt, 1933, 19). Following *The Rites of Durham*, an early-mid sixteenth century account of the church's monastic practices, the feretory cover was lifted during singing of the Te Deum at High Mass, for Magnificat, and at the request of influential pilgrims (Newbolt, 1933, 19). Silver bells were attached to the chords pulling the feretory up and down, announcing the relics were about to be exposed, and the cover was locked at all four corners after the event (Newbolt, 1933, 19). The shrine's custodian had to retrieve the keys from the sub-Prior and attend the shrine throughout the saint's exposure; the numerous entries for new locks and chords at Durham indicate the cover was frequently used (Newbolt, 1933, 19).

The surviving shrine was probably made *c.*1350-80 (Newbolt, 1933, 17), and estimated to have been the latest in a series of shrines made for the saint since her 9th century translation to Chester. The reconstructed shrine is rectangular, measuring 7ft x 3ft (2.1m x 0.9m) in length and 14ft (4.26m) high (Newbolt, 1933, 17). It has a 'shelf' 6ft (1.82m) from the ground which would have supported Werburgh's casket inside the shrine (Newbolt, 1933, 17). The lower storey has six recesses (one front, one back, two on each side) for pilgrims to kneel against and place their heads into. These lower niches do not give access to the upper storey of the shrine, where Werburgh originally lay (contra Newbolt, 1933, 17).

Audio-Haptic encounters at St Werburgh's Shrine

David Lubman (2004a & b) conducted digital binaural analyses of the original prayer niches in the base of St Werburgh's shrine. These niches still bear the staining and erosion of

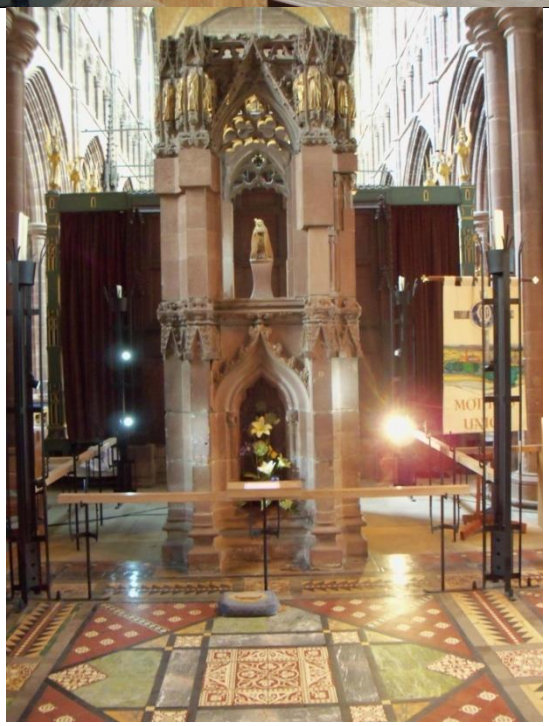
worshippers holding the sides and leaning on the niche base to petition Werburgh (Fig.4.20). Lubman recorded the sound frequencies of human speech inside and outside the niches. He found the niches reinforced the speaker's voice, making it far louder and thus causing the speaker to reduce their volume (the Lombard effect), contributing a sense of intimacy with the saint (Lubman, 2004b). Pilgrims would also hear their own voices echoing back. The voice was, however, distorted by a reverberant halo, meaning it seemed to emanate from outside the speaker's body (Lubman 2004a). These effects, combined with architecture of the niches, also blocked out ambient noise from the cathedral, creating an otherworldly aural experience, disconnected from everyday sounds.

The lack of visual stimulation would have also heightened the speaker's awareness of this unusual aural environment (Lubman, 2004b). Lubman (2004a & b) concludes that, whether this acoustic effect was intentionally designed or not, the niches created an intimate personal theatre between the individual petitioner and the saint. Although haptic access is not a concern in Lubman's analysis, the clear evidence of people holding the niches and placing their heads inside the niches in order to speak with Werburgh demonstrates how the aural and haptic senses were intertwined in shrine access. Even though her human remains may not have been within immediate reach, worshippers could still 'access' her by inserting their heads into the shrine and an encountering an audio experience that may have suggested she was also present.

Because the 14th-century shrine is believed to be an enlargement of an earlier shrine, it has been conjectured that the earlier versions may have had fewer (if any) prayer niches (Lubman, 2004b). If true, the last shrine may have been built with additional niches to receive even more worshippers, as the shrine could be petitioned by six individuals at a time,

a.

b.



c.

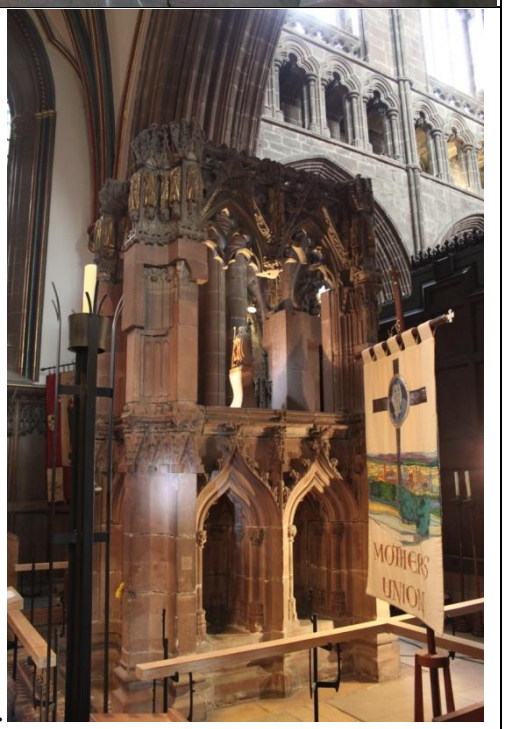


Fig.4.20 Chester Cathedral, St Werburgh's shrine: a. haptic erosion inside the base of prayer niches of western side. b. southern side of shrine c. eastern side of shrine

suggesting haptic-aural experiences had become an important aspect of St Werburgh's veneration. Since the niches blocked out most external noise, even if it was used by multiple people at once, each individual would have been acutely aware of their own voice and the acoustics of the shrine.

Although it's questionable how similar the experience would be for the modern non-believer, certainly the technical aspects of architecture and human vocals can be reconstructed to some degree of similarity. More importantly, Lubman takes a unique sensory approach to a mortuary monument, beyond its visual impact on the worshipper, and suggests the olfactory impact of incense and candle wax at the shrine would have contributed to an overwhelming sensory experience (Lubman, 2004b).

Exposure, Anxiety and Striptease

The new 12th and 13th century shrine styles cocooned the saints in containers within containers and at an inaccessible height to the pilgrim. Haptic access to the relics and the shrine interior was severely reduced spatially and architecturally. Proximity to the shrine was controlled by guardians and sacristans, gates, iron railings, a (locked) canopy, and a locked feretory. While apertures were still available, they were strongly guarded and only exceptional visitors could access them. Crawl spaces were reduced to prayer niches, which still allowed pilgrims to physically and audibly engage with the saint but did not provide subterranean access. The visual culture of the shrines becomes the focal point instead: the contemporary accounts of St Thomas' shrine devote most of their description to its wealth and ornamentation (see Blick, 2005).

However, when the feretories were opened the event was akin to a ritualised striptease. Layer upon layer was slowly, theatrically removed, tantalising the assembly. First the gates were opened then the pilgrims were assembled. Key holders arrived at the shrine to begin unlocking the canopy. The announcement was made and the canopy bells rang as it was slowly lifted to reveal the hidden feretory. A ladder at Canterbury was erected and climbed. The feretory was unlocked. The bones were unwrapped. The pilgrims knelt, even though nothing could be seen, anticipating the exposure of the bones. Kneeling was not only respectful but a submissive, unthreatening position of the living encountering the powerful saints unwrapped in a vulnerable state. Even when opened, the height of shrines meant the bones inside could not actually be seen by those below.

This did not, however, stop haptic interactions. Petitioners requesting healing might rub their bodies against the pillars flanking a shrine, as at Canterbury. The desperate and influential might be allowed to touch the shrine base or pray with their head inside a niche. Pilgrim badges and ampullae might touch the shrine and become a personal, portable contact reli*c*. Pilgrims may not have been able to touch the actual shrine, but may have been satisfied with touching a representation of the shrine on a pilgrim badge. Oil and water infused with the blood or bones of a saint, or dust or stone from their shrine could be imbibed. As relic collections grew, as the properties of the saints were multiplied (e.g. contact oils and waters; the bodily fluids of saints; bone fragments, pilgrim badges) haptic encounters were distributed away from the primary shrine and the cult site.

Pilgrims may not have been able to crawl inside the tombs of elevated saints, but they could consume pieces of saints and tombs into their own bodies. Lesser saints might be brought out from cupboards and altars for handling and enshrined heads uncovered for kissing. Erasmus

and Lady de Montreuil's experiences at Canterbury indicate a degree of hostility from some relic guardians if items were *not* touched or kissed. In certain cases, only looking at the relics could be a sign of disgust or disbelief. Touching relics in the prescribed manner was not only respectful but a sign you were willing a participant in this form of mortuary theatre. You still believed there was supernatural power at the interface between living bodies and saintly remains. You still believed touch had spiritual efficacy.

In this context viewing uncovered bones was seemingly fraught with anxieties. The controlled exposure of saintly bones made them, and the ascribed saint, both powerful yet vulnerable. This is not to say English saints were less important in liturgical practice or lacked passionate veneration. Rather, visual emphasis seems to have been on the shrines and feretories housing their remains. The bones of saints in England were exposed but in a controlled, restrictive manner. Both sight and touch were being constrained in new ways.

Charnel versus Saint's Exposure

However, the naked bones of the common dead were collected and stored as charnel as well. In Britain, charnel houses were more common at cathedrals than other churches because of the larger parish they served (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005, 195). Excavation of the medieval charnel chapel in Exeter Cathedral's churchyard revealed a 3m deep crypt with a 1m deep collection of bones which had been categorised into arms, legs, and skulls (Henderson & Bidwell, 1982). The bones were housed in a crypt or cellar, accessed by a flight of stairs from the above-ground chapel (Orme, 2014, 84-5).

However, they were very rare inside English churches and mostly consisted of small, discrete dumps of charnel under the floors not open displays of naked bones (Gilchrist & Sloane,

2005, 195). St Albans's had a charnel pit near the high altar in 1251 (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 250) and the Chapel of Tranfiguration, built 1420-30 in the cemetery, was originally for viscera burials, and later, charnel (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 251). Charnelling as a practice seems to have ended rapidly after the Reformation, which may suggest it was innately linked with preservation of the body's physical integrity and the soul's existence in Purgatory (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005, 223).

Even though the non-sainted dead did not have the religious or political capital of the saints, their evacuated remains were still kept out of the public eye by hiding them inside crypts or reburying them. However, the theatrical unveiling of the elevated saints may have been a way of distinguishing them from the common dead stored en masse and uncovered.

Conclusion

Rather than looking at specific doctrines of belief or biographies of saints and their cults, this chapter has taken a macroscopic view of mortuary veneration across different sites and shrine types. A focus on physical access has been maintained, rather than scopic regimes of vistas or ornamental ensembles surrounding and embellishing shrines. In place of shrine typologies, three vehicles of encounter have been addressed: subterranean, elevation, and effigial. This approach encompasses two key spatial planes of encounter, and interfaces between living, dead, and representational bodies. It is not a simple juxtaposition of subterranean versus elevated bodies or real versus representational bodies since they operated alongside each other. They should not therefore be considered 'periods' or transition points within an imagined linear evolution of praxis. However, the role and presence of elevated or subterranean bodies in the mortuaryscape may be weighted differently per generation. Instead, recurring tropes of touch have been highlighted across these three arenas.

This chapter suggests that subterranean spaces offered the living a place of spiritual and corporeal transformation through physical connections with the materiality of the dead. The ancientness of the subterranean echoed through early medieval literature, landscaping, monumentality, and burial locations. Such a transformation for early medieval pilgrims was probably deeply embedded in biblical themes concerning death and resurrection (both Christ's triumph and the believer's baptism).

This was potentially hybridised with a rich legacy of legendary characters, Christian and Pagan, who had entered the subterranean world to overcome evil, and emerge renewed and victorious. The underground world was an 'old' world. It was a hoard not just of material goods but of past events which had summoned dangerous entities. Underground the dead could be contacted, for good or for ill. In the explicitly Christian context of churches and shrines, these subterranean spaces were more spiritually stable than the demonic features of prehistoric landscapes. Yet the wrath of the saint was as potent a threat. The submissive body language required of petitioners - crawling, kneeling, and stooping - was as much for the safety of the living as respect for the dead.

Kneeling to lower items into a shaft-grave, descending into a crypt, crawling inside foramina, or squeezing through a niche was an inherently haptic event. In each case, sight was minimised by the darkness and/or the concealed nature of the focal point (i.e. the burial). These acts were part of a haptic culture which existed within and alongside visual mortuary culture. Things could not always be seen, but that was not necessarily the point or the goal. Things could be *felt* and this was a crucial method of petitioning, verifying and interpreting the dead. Subterranean experiences undoubtedly varied by person. In some cases, it may have been an unpleasant, even traumatic process.

Multiple individuals entering the same spaces may not have attributed the same meaning, beliefs, or expectations to their encounters with the dead. Nonetheless, subterranean architectures offered unusual bodily experiences. Whereas vistas of shrines could be shared by a group summoned to watch an unveiling; kissing relics, crawling through portals, or inserting limbs into shrines had to be experienced by the individual body. The niches in St Werburgh's shrine base are a key example. Although multiple people could gather around the base (when permitted), each niche blocked neighbouring noise and offered a personal theatre of prayer. The petitioner's voice was magnified as if coming from outside their own body. This audio-haptic experience was thus highly individualised, providing an intimate one-to-one encounter with the saint. Prayer niches in other shrines undoubtedly provided similar experiences.

The exposure of human remains attributed to saints appears to have become an increasingly controlled affair. The elevation of saints placed their remains in caskets on beams or inside gilded feretories atop tall shrines. Layers of textiles, containers, and boundaries of railings, gates, and screens separated them from the public. Given the seemingly English preference for hiding saintly bodies from permanent exposure, the subterranean offered a way of encountering the saint without really seeing them. Equally, the elevated saints were kept out-of-sight, heightening the moments when they were briefly exposed.

It would be unwise to conclude that pre-Reformation encounters with the dead were more tactile and physical than Protestant forms. Haptic practices centred on the dead have continued to the present day. Although this chapter has focussed primarily on venerative pre-Reformation practices, it has also demonstrated a continuing interest in physical, intimate interaction with the dead.

This chapter does not seek, however, to ascribe or elucidate a homogeneous 'medieval mind' behind these encounters. As Tarlow (2011, 15-16) has pointed out, the 'balkanisation of the brain' in which multiple, seemingly conflicting or paradoxical beliefs and practices which could happily co-exist in any one individual or group is equally relevant to the medieval Catholic. Categorising pre-Reformation mortuary culture as 'sensual' and 'embodied' versus a text-driven, literate, 'disembodied' Protestant culture is unhelpful and inaccurate.

Touch continued to play an important role in encounters between the living and the saintly dead were mutually physical. Saints could appear in physical form, as well as being present through the human remains attributed to them. The microarchitecture surrounding their curated bodies, bodily fluids, and body parts have been continually interacted with in various physical ways, through crawling, rubbing, stroking, kissing, imbibing, and handling. Similarly, though not as authoritatively, tomb effigies of the social and ecclesiastical elite could become minor cult sites. As such, effigy tombs could also receive an array of haptic practices, echoing saint's shrines. This evidence transcends the Reformation divide; as do the haptic interactions they have received from visitors. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the desire to reach out and touch curated human remains or mortuary monuments may be motivated by different beliefs, personal agendas, and social privileges.

Chapter 5: Haptic Interventions with the Dead

"A Minister... with a whole pike in his hand ratling down proud Beckets glassy bones... to him it was said, 'tis a shame for a Minister to be seene there; the Minister replyed, Sir, I count it no shame, but an honour,[...] Some wisht he might breake his neck, others said it should cost bloud. But he finished the worke, and came downe well, and was in very good health when this was written."

Richard Culmer boasts of his iconoclasm at Canterbury Cathedral in 1644 (Culmer, 1644, 22)

Introduction

Having explored the haptic experiences orchestrated by the architectural spaces of the saints, this chapter focuses on haptic encounters with tombs by iconoclasts and cathedral visitors in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Just as the collective identities of pilgrims and Catholic clergy were expressed and influenced by how closely they could touch the saints, this chapter examines how masculinities amongst early modern male iconoclasts and graffitists were expressed through the different degrees of violence and defacement they enacted on tombs and burials.

This period of State-led violence and defacement of the dead, although a narrow window of time, provides a contrast with expectations and responses surrounding 'venerative' touch of shrines. Instead it explores nuances of 'disrespectful' forms of touch following the purge of the saints. In an attempt to address the physicality of iconoclasm, this chapter contextualises it within a much longer history of defacement aimed at tombs. This includes evidence of grave-robbing, theft, deliberate breakage, and historic graffiti, which appeared alongside iconoclasm. Cathedrals are particularly relevant to studies of 17th-century iconoclasm because

they were at the forefront of anti-Laudian/pro-Puritan campaigns (Spraggon, 2003, 177) which is capitalised on in this chapter.

To illuminate this approach, iconoclastic evidence on extant tombs at the five cathedrals has been collated and analysed according to (a) the period of iconoclasm [Reformation iconoclasm: 1550-c.1562 and Puritan Iconoclasm in the1640-1650s – see below] (b) the gender and status of the effigy, to identify whether gender of the effigy or whether they represented clergy or laity, was an influence on iconoclasts; (c) the body parts attacked, and (c) the frequency of damage per effigy. Canterbury and Exeter make notable contributions to this through surviving accounts by 17th century iconoclasts and eyewitnesses, and their range of extant effigy tombs bearing damage. Further evidence of iconoclasm, theft and tomb breakage, grave-robbing and graffiti is synthesised from documentary sources, excavation reports, and personal observation.

The loss of so many tombs during restorations and clearance campaigns has undoubtedly obscured the degree of damage originally caused by iconoclasts, thieves, and graffitists. Yet the sampled tombs are suggestive of certain trends and preferences. These are supplemented by rare contemporary accounts by iconoclasts and eyewitnesses from the cathedrals of Canterbury and Exeter, and Thomas Dekker's satire of early modern men graffiting inside St Paul's Cathedral, London.

While these were by no means exclusively male practices, accounts of iconoclasm by men; the stereotyping of graffiti as a 'gentlemanly practice' (see below); and accusations of grave-robbing and theft aimed at Parliamentary soldiers, each provide a gender context for consideration. Iconoclasm was a very public affair damaging monuments in a public arena.

Seventeenth-century acts were conducted in front of onlookers (Culmer, 1644, 22) and the actions of iconoclasts were also reported and circulated as political and religious propaganda (e.g. Culmer, 1644; Ryves, 1732[1646]; also Spraggon, 2003, 52). Seventeenth-century iconoclasm conducted by soldiers in cathedrals might be performed in such a manner to intimidate onlookers (Culmer, 1644, 22), and send a threatening message to the Royalists in the prelude to war (Spraggon, 2003, 124). Being involved in iconoclastic damage in the 17th century also embedded iconoclasts in group identities of anti-Laudians, anti-Catholics, Puritans, and/or the militia (see below). Thus the performative nature of iconoclasm, and other deliberate acts of disturbance and defacement of the dead, was part of a broader spectrum of religious, political, and even class-based identities amongst men. Therefore, the defacement of the dead in this period is approached through a lens of performative early modern masculinities specifically expressed through physical acts of violence.

While Reformation iconoclasm is mentioned in this chapter, the focus is largely on 17th-century damage when the cathedral became an authorised battleground; an arena for sanctioned violence against the Catholic enemy (see below). Thus the importance of bodily violence as masculine constructs is relevant for understanding how the predominantly male mortuaryscape of cathedrals was attacked by male soldiers. Violence and masculinity is also well-attested for early modern England through legal cases, plays, literature, personal diaries, and other contemporary accounts (e.g. Foyster, 1999a&b; Shoemaker, 1999; Ward, 2008a; Davies, 2013a; Feather & Thomas, 2013a). That is not to say women were never violent or treated violently, (and their effigies were damaged as well: see below) but violence by and against women was treated differently in the courts and not considered a defining element of femininity as it was for masculinity (Levin & Ward, 2008, 8-10).

Evaluating iconoclasm as a gendered haptic practice shifts attention on to the physical relationship being negotiated between the living and the dead by a new generation of Christian doctrine and its adherents and practitioners. In the case of iconoclasts, grave-robbers, and graffitists, the masculinity attached to these practices informed and mediated this relationship within an evolving Protestant patriarchy. How the inherited dead were tangibly contested by men from competing religious groups and social classes promises to provide an original approach to studies of iconoclasm, historic graffiti, and early modern masculinity.

These areas of research are first outlined, followed by an overview of the aims of Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm. The chapter is then divided into three parts based on the type of evidence and analysis conducted: (1) the empirical analysis of iconoclasm, which is then situated within a broader spectrum of (2) grave-robbing, theft and breakage of the dead; then (3) examples of graffiti are examined as contributing to iconoclasm but also a separate category of haptic interaction with the dead, beyond notions of defacement and damage. This chapter ends with a fuller consideration of masculinity, defacement, and early modern relationships with their ancestral mortuaryscapes inside cathedrals.

English Iconoclasm Studies

Iconoclasm and Identity

Revisionist histories of English Reformation iconoclasm have tended to emphasise a general reluctance amongst churchwardens to enact iconoclasm on their churches' interiors and monuments (e.g. Duffy, 1992; 2012). Recent trends in Reformation studies have emphasised the perceptions, motivations, and responsibilities of the individual iconoclast rather than the Tudor state (Aston, 2015). Conversely, Puritan iconoclasm in England 1640-1660 has been explored as an inherently militarised affair of both state-led and army-led attacks, particularly

at the well-documented cathedrals of Canterbury, Norwich and York (e.g. Spraggon, 2003). Comparison of Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm has revealed that the damage and loss of mortuary monuments was on a far greater scale than previously thought, and strategies to protect new epitaphs and effigies from future iconoclasts were occasionally attempted (Lindley, 2009, 123).

However, archaeological studies of English iconoclasm which focus on surviving physical material are rare. Tarlow (1999, 81-3) briefly reports iconoclastic evidence at St Magnus Cathedral in Orkney. Gilchrist's (2005, 199-228) study of Norwich cathedral and its precincts included the impact of the Reformation on the cathedral's close and the community. However, it did not explore the loss or defacement of mortuary monuments. Other archaeologists have emphasised Reformation iconoclasm as a powerful tool in shifting from Catholic visuality to Protestant textuality (Moreland 2001, 54-76). Moreland (2006, 140-1) argued that iconoclasm was, indirectly, a technology for constructing identities, group relations, and re-conceiving the physical world through the promotion of text over visual culture.

Other studies of Reformation destruction have also emphasised the importance of communal identity and social relations emerging as a result. For example, Masinton argued that change and continuity in the Yorkshire Dissolution represented a shift from "visual contact with individual intercessors to one which valued communal worship and the word" (2008, 257). Perring (2013) places the reformative practices enacted at York minster (*c.*1500-1642) by comparing the aftermath of the interior's damage with the re-building of the minster's precincts. She discusses the subsequent installation of new memorial styles and the re-organisation of interior space as evidence of changes and continuities of Christian doctrine

and the identities of families and individuals. Perring also provides a welcome overview of destruction and repair during and after both the Reformation and Puritan ordinances. Yet the physicality of iconoclasm has yet to be addressed rather than the visual culture it (re-)produced.

Pamela Grave's (2008, 37) study is an important exception, not least because it refuses to merely match archaeological evidence for iconoclasm with documentary accounts. As Graves (2008, 35-7) points out, not only is this rarely possible, it also continues to situate iconoclasm within an historical framework based on top-down theological and political narratives. Instead, she emphasises contemporary social discourses of the body and its material presence within and beyond the Church. By re-focussing iconoclasm as part of a spectrum of bodily practices evidenced on living and monumental bodies, Graves opens up avenues of discussion centred on bodily discourses circulating across all social ranks. It also allows for investigation into hidden voices and actions not recorded in the textual record.

To achieve this, Graves (2008) contextualises 16th and 17th-century iconoclasm of human (-esque) bodily images within judicial punishments of the body, and the role of costume and gesture. By harnessing archaeological and anthropological approaches, as well as historical material, she re-focuses attention onto the social currency of head and hand mutilation (Graves, 2008, 47-8). Yet she does not fall into the trap of treating the body as a cultural constant, but a universal presence which is renegotiated by successive generations.

Grave's important study of English iconoclasm from an archaeological, social, and corporeal perspective has yet to be fully capitalised on. It is also problematic in that it (wrongly) assumes Culmer's report on his iconoclastic activity in Kent in the 1640s is a reliable

barometer of (a) surviving effigies and (b) mid-17th-century destruction (see Graves, 2008, 38). Culmer's exaggerations are well-attested by the survival of much architectural material he claimed to have destroyed at Canterbury cathedral in 1643 (Collinson, 1995, 197). Moreover, as will be demonstrated with the Canterbury evidence, iconoclasm did not affect every extent effigial monument in either the 16th or 17th century. Indeed, iconoclasm of post-Reformation tombs seems to have been remarkably careful, even clinical, at least regarding monuments. Here is just one example where, as Graves (2008, 47) herself pointed out, the textual record and the archaeological evidence simply do not tally and therefore one cannot be prioritised over the other.

While Graves identifies vital points of argument for holistic approaches and social interpretations of the body, the study presented only anecdotal evidence. Only one cathedral – Lincoln – was (briefly) referred to as a site of iconoclasm, and only generalised observations of heads and hands were presented. There is no empirical survey presented to bolster her assertion that gender and office of the effigy played no role in iconoclasm (Graves, 2008, 47). And while she identifies subtle differences driving 16th and 17th-century lay responses to iconoclasm (Graves, 2008, 48), a detailed appraisal of surviving evidence can test her assertions and identify nuances.

This chapter also approaches iconoclasm from a different theoretical perspective. It joins in the discussion of corporeal and social attributes of effigial damage initiated by Graves, and yet seeks to address forms of iconoclasm as part of a broader, evolving culture of (violent) touch. While Graves compared monumental bodies with the gesture, costume, and punishment of living bodies, this chapter compares monumental bodies with the bodies of the dead inhabiting the same cathedral space (although not necessarily the bodies beneath the

damaged effigies) and the living bodies of the iconoclasts, grave-robbers, and graffitists. This provides an opportunity to discuss how monumental, mortuary, and living bodies were involved in violence and violating touch in early modern England.

Reformation Iconoclasm: Historical Context

With the Dissolution of the Shrines in the 1530s came the end of formally orchestrated haptic interaction with saints discussed in the previous chapter. The English Reformation, instigated by King Henry VIII, saw England break with the Catholic Church and the authority of the Pope in Rome (Duffy, 1992, 377-424). As Henry established himself as the head of the Church of England, he began to implement a nationwide rejection of key Catholic tenets, including the concept of Purgatory and the associated need to intercede on behalf of the dead to accelerate the time their souls spent there (Duffy, 1992, 377-424). This was accompanied by the dissolution of shrines and monasteries in the 1530s and 1540s, and the eradication of saints and idols (Duffy, 1992, 377-424).

Mortuary monuments were not under Henry VIII's remit for Reformation unless they were shrines, tombs that had become cultic focal points, or brasses available for re-use (Lindley, 2007, 17). Effigy tombs might be re-sculpted or removed in this period but there is no evidence any were deliberately defaced (Lindley, 2007, 17). It was the 1550 Act of Edward VI which invoked tombs and made it a crime *not* to deface or destroy Catholic imagery (Lindley, 2007, 20). This included, but was not limited to, images of saints; images or texts referring to intercession for the dead (i.e. epitaphs and effigies praying), and effigies of clergy in their vestments (Lindley, 2007, 23). Monuments to royalty or nobility were meant to be exempt unless they were considered saints of some kind (Lindley, 2007, 20). Lindley (2007, 20) suggests the Act was passed with this proviso to curtail existing attacks.

Following a hiatus of iconoclasm and a period of restitution and repair under Mary I (1553-1559), iconoclasm accelerated in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign during 1559-1562 as her new bishops enacted more strident anti-iconic regimes (Lindley, 2007, 23-4). Elizabethan iconoclasm continued to be conducted by senior ecclesiastics, many of whom had been selected for their anti-Catholic stance (Lindley, 2007, 24). The damage became so extensive that in 1560 Elizabeth ordered the cessation of iconoclasm and those tombs be repaired, although not all churches or families could afford to pay for the damage (Lindley, 2007, 25-6). However, brasses continued to be removed into the 1620s-1630s as these could be re-used or sold for melting down (Lindley, 2007, 113).

Churchwardens oversaw the logistics of Edwardian and Elizabethan iconoclasm by hiring workmen to deface, remove, paint-over, or board up idolatrous imagery throughout the church building (Duffy, 1992, 478-503). Iconoclasm was enforced through 'Visitations' conducted by Commissioners sent by the State to inspect the churches and interrogate the churchwarden's accounts (Duffy, 1992, 478-503).

However, distinguishing between the periods of Reformation iconoclasm on the monuments themselves is impossible without accompanying records of their condition before and immediately after. No such records exist for the monuments in this dataset. Only the aftermath of Reformation iconoclasm can be observed rather than its individual stages.

Puritan Iconoclasm: Historical Context

This is further obscured by the later enactment of Puritan iconoclasm in 1640-1660 when both newly installed monuments and existing mutilated tombs were defaced (Spraggon, 2003). Puritan iconoclasm contested the ideas of Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645) which started to emerge in English cathedrals (rather than local churches) around 1628

(Spraggon, 2003, 21-7). Laudian reforms encouraged a return to sacraments and ceremony; elaborate vestments for clergy; re-siting the altars in their pre-Reformation location at the east end of the church rather than the nave; and the use of images and stained glass to beautify the church interior. The clergy were to have greater control over laity especially through church courts intervening in secular affairs. This was diametrically opposed to Puritan beliefs which rejected organized, hierarchical church structures; man-made ceremonies, and what they perceived to be idolatrous ornamentation of the church (Spraggon, 2003, 27).

Popular opinion swelled against Laudianism because it threatened to curtail lay power and status, particularly those of the nobility and gentry, both inside and outside the church (Spraggon, 2003, 1-60). The battle between Laudianism and Puritanism came to a head in the 1630s-1640s, and by 1641 the anti-Laudian crowd were impatient with Parliament who seemed to be holding back on iconoclastic action against cathedrals (Spraggon, 2003, 37). By 1643, anti-iconic policies were sanctioned, but churchwardens were challenged by parishioners for not doing enough to restore the churches and cathedrals to their pre-Laudian state (Spraggon, 2003, 139-41).

The reluctance amongst certain churchwardens and some congregations to deface mortuary monuments and interiors re-emerged in Puritan iconoclasm and aggravated the anti-Laudian laity, especially the Parliamentary militia who saw themselves as God's own army waging war against the idolatrous, popish Royalists (Spraggon, 2003, 108, 137-42). Since the start of the English Civil War in 1642, Parliamentary soldiers had been extolled as a godly army fighting 'papist' Royalist soldiers (Spraggon, 2003, 52). To that end, they were encouraged to think of themselves as "fighting for God, Jesus, The Holy Ghost and the gospels" (Spraggon, 2003, 52). *The Soldiers Catechism* of 1644, circulated amongst Parliamentarians, declared

that ordinary soldiers should take up their swords against:

> "those monuments of Superstition and Idolatry, especially seeing the Magistrate and the Minister that should have done it formerly, neglected it" (quoted in Spraggon, 2003, 52).

The new iconoclasts were comprised of civic leaders, townsmen, and soldiers who took up arms against church monuments they deemed offensive (Lindley, 2007, 122). Their particular targets regarding the dead were effigy tombs with praying hands, which had continued to be installed in churches and cathedrals (Llewellyn, 2000, 97-102). Thus Puritan iconoclasm in England was a two-stage affair, beginning with small-scale diminishment of Laudian reforms by the cathedrals themselves, and then more violent, militarised attacks by the militia, dissatisfied Puritan clergymen, and laymen of various social classes (Spraggon, 2003, 177-216; Lindley, 2007, 122).

> "Puritan iconoclasm found its most violent expression in attacks on cathedral churches. This is not surprising – as centre-pieces of the Laudian ideal of the beauty of holiness and as the seats of the bishops they were potent symbols of a religious regime which had alienated many, both Puritans and non-Puritans." (Spraggon, 2003, 177).

Monuments were not the only church elements under attack by iconoclasts in either period. Puritans targeted communion rails, coloured glass and furnishings which were deemed uncomfortably close to Roman Catholic interiors (Spraggon, 2003, 30). Defacement was encouraged in 1643 rather than removing the monument, as evidence of their destruction had to remain visible (Spraggon, 2003, 81). By 1644 symbols such as lambs, lions, and triangles

were legislated against and defaced by a minority of the "enthusiastically godly" (Spraggon, 2003, 131).

Attacks by militia in the 1640s have been interpreted:

> "as mindless vandalism and the inevitable plunder and pillage of war; as an almost ritualistic destruction of symbols representative of the enemy; or even as the Puritan theology-in-action of a godly and reforming army." (Spraggon, 2003, 201).

They have not yet, however, been approached as part of a broader spectrum of violence and masculinity. To begin approaching the nature of violence in this period, its role in many forms of early modern manhood requires attention, to which we now turn.

Early Modern Masculinities

Performing public and private acts of bodily violence against others was an important element in the construction of early modern masculinities in England, for both elites and non-elites (e.g. Foyster, 1999a & b; Shoemaker, 1999; Ward, 2008a; Davies, 2013a; Feather & Thomas, 2013a). From a young age, boys and male adolescents schooled in early modern England were taught to control and channel their anger into strategic physical violence, so when they became men, they would be able to control their subordinates (Foyster, 1999b). Yet they were to show both restraint and aggression in their physical dealings with others (Foyster, 1999b). This presents the underlying paradox early modern masculinities were situated within both violence and self-control; a paradox which early modern writers were keenly aware of (Feather & Thomas, 2013a & b).

Concepts of 'manhood' were bound up in the need to preserve one's own and familial honour in the public sphere, and prior to the more sophisticated legal routes offered after the

Restoration (1660-1740), this involved physically wounding the offender (Shoemaker, 1999). For example, Peltonen (2003) highlights how elite males seeking private restitution might participate in the long-standing tradition of duelling with swords until blood was drawn and scars were left on the body. Covington (2003) has examined how English Civil War soldiers viewed themselves as constructed by their wounds not just their capacity for violence, and their bodies became technologies of war-memory and war-making in various printed literature of the period.

Violence could also be sexually motivated as cuckolded men might cut off the nose or the tip (*denastio*) of their competitor, and possibly also the unfaithful wife's nose, to permanently inscribe the dishonour on their faces (Groebner, 2004, 82-6). As with Puritan iconoclasm the aim was not to remove the body through death but to mutilate it for public humiliation, as well as the physical pain endured by the recipient.

In a mortuary context, Sherlock (2011a, 140-1,146-7) has demonstrated the importance of expressing masculinity in early modern effigies. Representational bodies of elite non-clergymen employed symbols and epitaphs referencing military identities, fighting in battle campaigns, and representing the deceased in armour, even if they had never seen action (Sherlock, 2011a, 140-1,146-7). This was because "...the valorisation of violence – from street brawls and duels to battlefields on sea and land – was a male prerogative, and a highly valued one in aristocratic circles" (Sherlock, 2011a, 133).

References to physical prowess, bravery, violence or violent capabilities were part of a suite of expected masculine achievements for tombs, including their patriarchal lineage, and professional and academic accomplishments available, and often exclusive to, males

(Sherlock, 2011a, 133, 146). Early modern military effigies, regardless of their age at death or whether they had been soldiers, could have their physical muscularity emphasised to signify masculine power and latent aggressive capabilities innate to the male body (Sherlock, 2011a, 140). Female relatives commissioned some of these monuments to celebrate the physical prowess and (imagined) military identities of male kin as a strategy for protecting familial inheritances and claims (Sherlock, 2011a, 140). "Never before...had a group of monuments focussed on military attributes in words and images to the near exclusion of all other themes", including references to an afterlife (Sherlock, 2011a, 141).

However, early modern masculinities were in flux during this period as emphases on male violence began to shift. In the 1930s Elias (2000) theorised how early modern society underwent a 'civilizing process' part of which meant the violence embedded in late medieval codes of chivalry and honour amongst the knightly class were diluted as the State developed a monopoly on warfare by developing formal armies in the 16th and 17th centuries. This shifted aristocratic men from warriors to courtiers and diplomats, and their traditional combative role was dissolved (see also Davies, 2013, 2-3). These positions required civility, manners, and greater self-control in European courts, and thus Elias argued, violence was increasingly internalized and expressed through formal rituals of combat, such as duelling, and political and economic sanctions.

Elias' civilised male has become an important, framework for understanding early modern masculinity although it has been challenged for its emphasis on elite males and the universalising of violence without appreciating how it intersected with class, Protestantism, and Humanism (see reviews in Ward, 2008; Feather & Thomas, 2013a). As ideas about violence changed so did perceptions and expressions of masculinity (Feather & Thomas,

2013b, 8). Violence and masculinity was not unique to the early modern period or to England, but it was a defining element which informed gender dynamics and identities amongst males.

Two particular aspects of early modern masculinity were being debated in this period. One was the self-restraint advocated by humanist thought, which prioritised male prowess in public demonstrations of their understanding of the arts and education (Feather & Thomas, 2013, 1-2). The other was godly violence for defending personal honour, controlling subordinates in domestic and business arenas, and in the Parliamentary militia, the honour of the Protestant church against the stereotype of pro-Catholic Royalists (Spraggon, 2003, 108, 137-42). It is the latter which seems most relevant for engaging with acts of violence, defacement, and grave-ransacking.

Masculinity and selfhood was therefore constructed and negotiated through interpersonal violence, particularly with other men, creating groups of victims and groups of perpetrators. Male violence could be focussed on women, but for violence to be honourable or righteous, only male-on-male attacks were appropriate or worthy (Walker, 2003, 49). Whether men were acting on behalf of the State, in judicial or warfare contexts, or casual, sporadic violence, such conflicts were meant to create visible and lasting injuries. Thus the early modern patriarchy sustained itself through simultaneous acts of physical violence and physical suffering. Moreover, when considering iconoclasm, the role of violence as a haptic, performative aspect of early modern masculinity may illuminate the type and degree of mutilation enacted on effigial bodies. Before the surviving physical evidence is assessed, however, the limited but important documentary accounts by iconoclasts and eyewitnesses are first appraised.

PART 1: ICONOCLASM AT THE FIVE CATHEDRALS

Canterbury Cathedral: historical sources

Parliamentary troops conducted a spontaneous spate of iconoclasm at Canterbury Cathedral where they were temporarily stationed in 1642 under Colonel Edwyn Sandys (Collinson, 1995, 195). The attack happened the morning after their arrival and the soldiers particularly targeted the altar rails which had still not been removed despite an order by the Commons two years earlier (Collinson, 1995, 195). Collinson (1995, 195) remarks how "The soldiers…did 'their pleasure' almost as if the cathedral had been raped". Afterwards, Dr Paske, sub-dean in the absence of Dean Bargrave, presented a Parliamentary report on the damage suffered, which was reprinted in the Royalist propaganda pamphlet *Mercurius Rusticus* (Collinson, 1995, 195):

> "when the Souldiers entering the Church, and Quire, Giant-like, began a fight with God himselfe, overthrew the Conmunion Table, toare the Velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly Screen, or Tabernacle work, violated the Monuments of the dead, spoyled the Organs, brake downe the ancient Railes, and Seats, with the brazen Eagle which did support the Bible, forced open the Cupboords of the Singing-men, rent some of their Surplices, Gownes and Bibles, and carryed away others, mangled all our Servicebooks, and Books of Common-Prayer; bestrowing the whole pavement with the leaves thereof" (Paske in Ryves, 1646, 185).

Paske was particularly horrified by their violence against images of Christ:

> "(I tremble to expresse their blasphemies) one said that here is Christ, and swore that hee would stab him: another said here is Christ, and swore that he would rip up his bowells: which they did accordingly, so farre as the figures were capable thereof, besides many other villanies: and not content therewith, finding another statue of

> Christ in the Frontispiece of the South-gate, they discharged against it forty shot at the least, triumphing much, when they did hit it in the head, or face, as if they were resolved to crucifie him again in his Figure" (Paske in Ryves, 1646, 185).

Sir Michael Livesey, who was nominally in charge of the soldiers, apologised and explained that his soldiers had exceeded orders to act 'civilie in the church' and he had been 'readie to feint' when he saw the damage (Collinson, 1995, 196). Realising they had overstepped the mark and misinterpreted public opinion at Canterbury, the same soldiers showed more restraint at Rochester Cathedral "by this means the Monuments of the Dead; which elsewhere they brake up and violated, stood untouched" (Ryves, 1646, 199).

Parliament responded by banning any unauthorised iconoclasm by soldiers or townsmen, especially against its windows, and ordering protection for the cathedral prebendaries (Collinson, 1995, 195). However, in August 1643, Parliament officially sanctioned church-centred iconoclasm and demolition against all 'monuments of superstition and idolatry' (Collinson, 1995, 195). It is thought this was the most extensive wave of iconoclasm Canterbury ever suffered (Collinson, 1995, 197). In December 1643, just a year after Colonel Sandys' ravages, Richard Culmer, a curate in Kent, led an attack on Canterbury cathedral's 'popish' windows and monuments, and published a proud account of his destruction in a Parliamentary report (Culmer, 1644; also Eales, 2004).

His primary concern was smashing the windows using a 60-step ladder and a pike but his cohort also turned to effigy tombs "with eyes and hands lifted up, and right over them was pictured God the Father, imbracing a Crucifix, to which the Image seemed to pray" (Culmer, 1644, 22). None of the tombs are specified in any of these accounts, so what exactly was

attacked, by whom, and in what manner cannot be distinguished. Soldier's horses and weapons were also being kept inside Canterbury cathedral in the 1640s, causing further damage (Gregory, 1995, 205).

Exeter Cathedral: historical sources

Far less is known about iconoclasm at Exeter Cathedral. However, in 1644, Parliamentary soldiers reportedly:

> "strook off the heads of all the Statues on all the Monuments in the Church, especially, they deface the *Bishops Tombs*, leaving one without a *Head*, another without a *Nose*, one without a *Hand*, and another without an *Arm*" (quoted in Lindley, 2007, 117: original italics).

Bishop Lamplugh (1676-1688) had to relocate ecclesiastical monuments which had been "very rudely misplaced and obscured" (quoted in Lindley, 2007, 213) during this period, presumably referring to the tombs and grave-covers removed to aid the grave-ransacking which took place (see below).

Gouges

Culmer prioritised 'graven images' and he and his men had been supplied muskets by the mayor to attack them (Collinson, 1995, 197). A range of stone effigies at Canterbury, Exeter and Ripon are pockmarked with roughly circular gouges, some particularly deep (Figs.5.1-5.5). The dirt and erosion of the gouges and missing chunks indicates historic breakage. They neither differ in shape from general accidental chipping and wear-and-tear nor are they bladed cut-marks as expected in iconoclastic action.

Fig.5.1. Exeter Cathedral: Bishop Branscombe's effigy (d.1280). a. large hole in his right temple/cheek; b. detail of the hole; c. west side of the effigy.

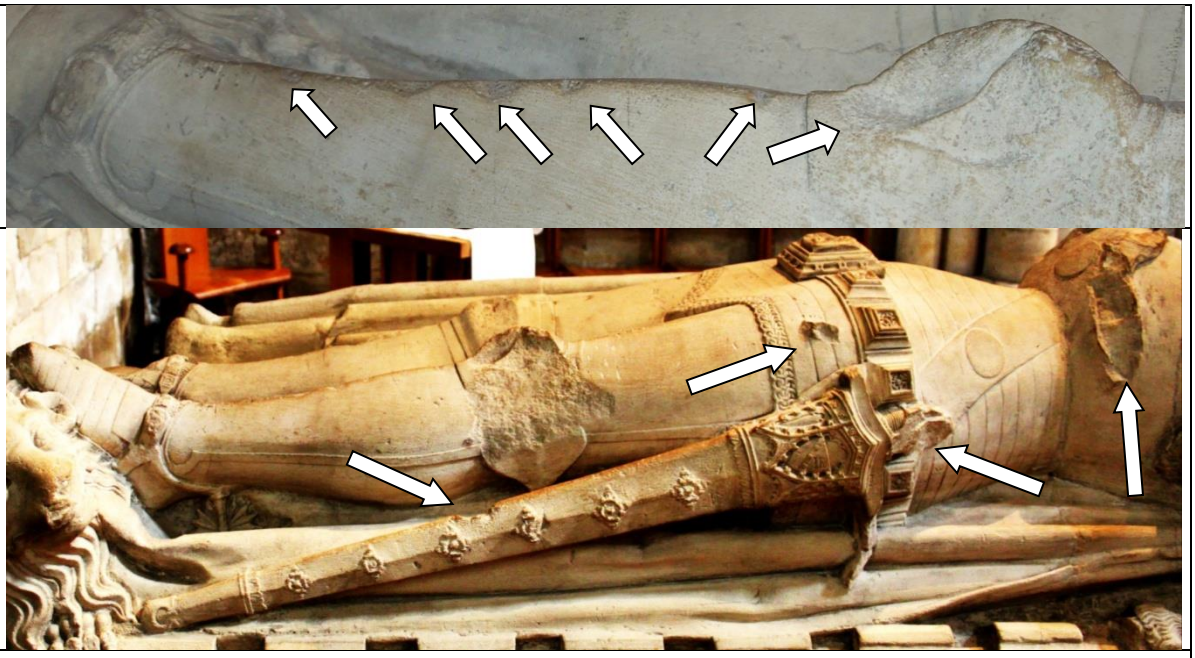


Fig.5.2. Ripon Cathedral: Thomas Markenfield's effigy (d.1398). a. gouge marks along the ridge of his lower left leg. b. damage to knee, sword edge, hilt, torso.

a.

b.

Fig.5.3. Exeter Cathedral: Robert Stapledon (d.1320): a. various gouges over his face, especially his chin; b. effigy in the northern wall of the north choir aisle.

a.

b.

Fig.5.4. Exeter Cathedral: a. Humphrey de Bohun (d.1322) has gouges in his shield edge and face, and a blade cut-mark on back of right hand; b. Henry de Raleigh (d.1302) has chunks taken out the shield edge, and a large gouge in his helmet where his ear would be.

Fig.5.5. Exeter Cathedral: Cadaver effigy William Sylke (d.1502). Large hole in his left chest and three large chunks removed from the southern tomb edge.

Some of these circular gouges may have been caused by small musket balls or other forms of shot being fired at them, which have yet to be identified or commented on in iconoclastic studies. Although not definitive proof, these gouges remind us that iconoclasm was not only conducted by bladed weapons and tools. Simply looking for missing body parts would be to miss the range of ways effigies were defaced. If some of these gouges do represent guns being fired at effigies, it does not seem to have been particularly effective at large-scale

mutilation. It may also have been considered a waste of ammunition in a time of war and might have caused danger because of ricochets.

However, standing at a distance to a monument and firing at it was a very different experience of defacement compared to those who had to climb on top of effigies and swing axes or hammer chisels into body parts. Regardless of the degree of damage caused by gunshot, it may have also served as target practice amongst Parliamentary soldiers, the effigies providing 'papist' bodies to train on before engaging in real-life warfare with Royalists. Thus the Civil War and Puritan iconoclasm spilled over inside the sanctioned battlefield of the cathedral and its mortuaryscape.

Iconoclasm Analysis

The Dataset and Methodology

To explore the impact of iconoclasm on cathedral monuments a dataset of extant effigies was created from the five cathedrals. Attacks on attendant figures (e.g. Christ, Mary, angels, animals, biblical figures etc.) are not the focus of this analysis; rather the emphasis is on the treatment of the main effigial body, and whether the gender, office and status it represented influenced iconoclasts. However, damaged attendant figures are referred to anecdotally when attacked seemingly instead of the main effigy (see below). Evidence was compiled from high-resolution photographs of the tombs, and, in the case of heavily restored effigies such as Archbishops Chichele and Warham (Canterbury), accounts of the repairs were consulted (Wilson, 1995, 478, 488). These tombs were photographed in person. Three non-effigy tombs are included: the figurines of Thomas Greene and his two wives in a wall memorial at Chester cathedral all had their hands cut off at the wrists (Fig.5.6.); at Canterbury Cathedral, the figure of Richard Lee at the base of the Hales wall memorial has had his hands and his

feet cut off; also at Canterbury, the heads on Archbishop Hubert Walter's chest tomb have been targeted by iconoclasts (Fig.5.6). Archbishop Walter's tomb has been incorporated as a monument but not an effigy.

a.

b.

c.

Fig.5.6. Non-Effigy Tombs with Iconoclasm; a. Thomas Greene Memorial (Chester); b. detail of removed hands on Thomas Greene memorial; c. iconoclastic damage to heads on Hubert Walter's tomb, Canterbury

Tombs erected after the Reformation would have been identifiable as such to 17th-century iconoclasts. Effigies were dressed in contemporary fashions and many were in the new poses of kneeling (e.g. Richard Baker and William Prude at Canterbury), sitting (e.g. Dean Boys at Canterbury), or lying on their side facing the audience (e.g. Dorothea Doderidge at Exeter)

(Llewellyn, 2000, 164, 176, 233). Many of them would have been installed in the cathedral within living memory and early modern tombs bear dates in cardinal numbers as well as Roman numerals (Llewellyn, 2000, 164, 176, 233).

Of the 75 effigies from 61 monuments available, 45 effigies across 38 monuments have bladed iconoclastic damage or tell-tale repairs (Tables 5.1-5.3). Since gouges and holes in effigies are only tentatively linked to musket fire by iconoclasts, these have not been incorporated. Tombs with the entire effigy removed by iconoclasts, such as Archbishop Sudbury's at Canterbury, were also excluded.

Since tombs erected after the Reformation were discernible to iconoclasts, the monuments in this sample were therefore divided into two phases based on their availability during the Reformation and during Puritan iconoclasm. Period A (Table 5.1) represents 31 effigies on 14 monuments which were installed by the time of the Reformation, the latest example being Archbishop Warham at Canterbury (d.1532). Effigies which were installed after the Reformation but were available for iconoclasm in the 1640s-1650s comprise Period B (Table 5.2). There are 14 effigies on 10 monuments in Period B, dating from *c.*1564 (Exeter: Cadaver tomb) to 1626 (Exeter: Bishop Carey). The remaining 15 effigy monuments were installed after the 17th century [1718-1902] (Table 5.3).

Table 5.1: Period A Effigy Monuments							
No.	**Cathedral**	**Period A Monuments**	**Iconoclasm**	**Gated Chapel**	**Title**	**Death**	**Tomb**
1	Exeter	Bishop Leofric [Iscarus 1184?]	No	?	Clergy	1072	
2	Canterbury	Archbishop Walter	Yes	No	Clergy	1205	
3	Exeter	Bishop Marshall	Yes	No	Clergy	1206	
4	Exeter	Bishop Apulia	Yes	?	Clergy	1223	
5	Exeter	Bishop Branscombe	Yes	No	Clergy	1280	
6	Canterbury	Archbishop Pecham	Yes	No	Clergy	1292	
7	Exeter	Henry de Raleigh	Yes	No	Lay	1302	
8	Exeter	Robert Stapledon	Yes	No	Lay	1320	
9	Exeter	Humphrey de Bohun	Yes	No	Lay	1322	
10	Exeter	Bishop Stapledon	Yes	?	Clergy	1326	
11	Canterbury	Archbishop Reynolds	Yes	?	Clergy	1327	
12	Canterbury	Prior Eastry	Yes	?	Clergy	1331	
13	Canterbury	Archbishop Stratford	Yes	No	Clergy	1348	
14	Canterbury	Lady Mohun	Yes	Yes	Lay	1375	
15	Canterbury	Edward Black Prince	No	No	Lay	1376	
16	Exeter	Hugh Courtenay	Yes	No	Lay	1377	1391
17		Lady Courtenay	Yes		Lay	1391	
18	Canterbury	Archbishop Courtenay	Yes	No	Clergy	1396	
19	Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 1	Yes	?	Lay	1398	
20		Dionisia Markenfield	Yes		Lay	?	
21	Canterbury	Henry IV	Yes	No	Lay	1413	1413
22		Joan of Navarre	Yes		Lay	1437	
23	Exeter	Bishop Stafford	Yes	No	Clergy	1419	
24	Canterbury	Lady Holland	No	Yes	Lay	1439	1439
25		Earl of Somerset	No		Lay	1410	
26		Duke of Clarence	No		Lay	1421	

Table 5.1: Period A Effigy Monuments [continued]							
No.	**Cathedral**	**Period A Monuments**	**Iconoclasm**	**Gated Chapel**	**Title**	**Death**	**Tomb**
27	Canterbury	Archbishop Chichele	Yes	No	Clergy	1443	1425
28		Chichele Cadaver	Yes			--	
29	Canterbury	Lady Trivet	Yes	Yes	Lay	1443	
30	Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 2	Yes	?	Lay	1497	
31		Eleanor Markenfield	Yes		Lay	?	
32	Canterbury	Archbishop Morton	Yes	Yes	Clergy	1500	
33	Exeter	Precentor Sylke	Yes	No	Clergy	1502	
34	Exeter	John Speke	Yes	Yes	Lay	1518	
35	Exeter	Bishop Oldham	Yes	Yes	Clergy	1519	
36	Canterbury	Archbishop Warham	Yes	No	Clergy	1532	

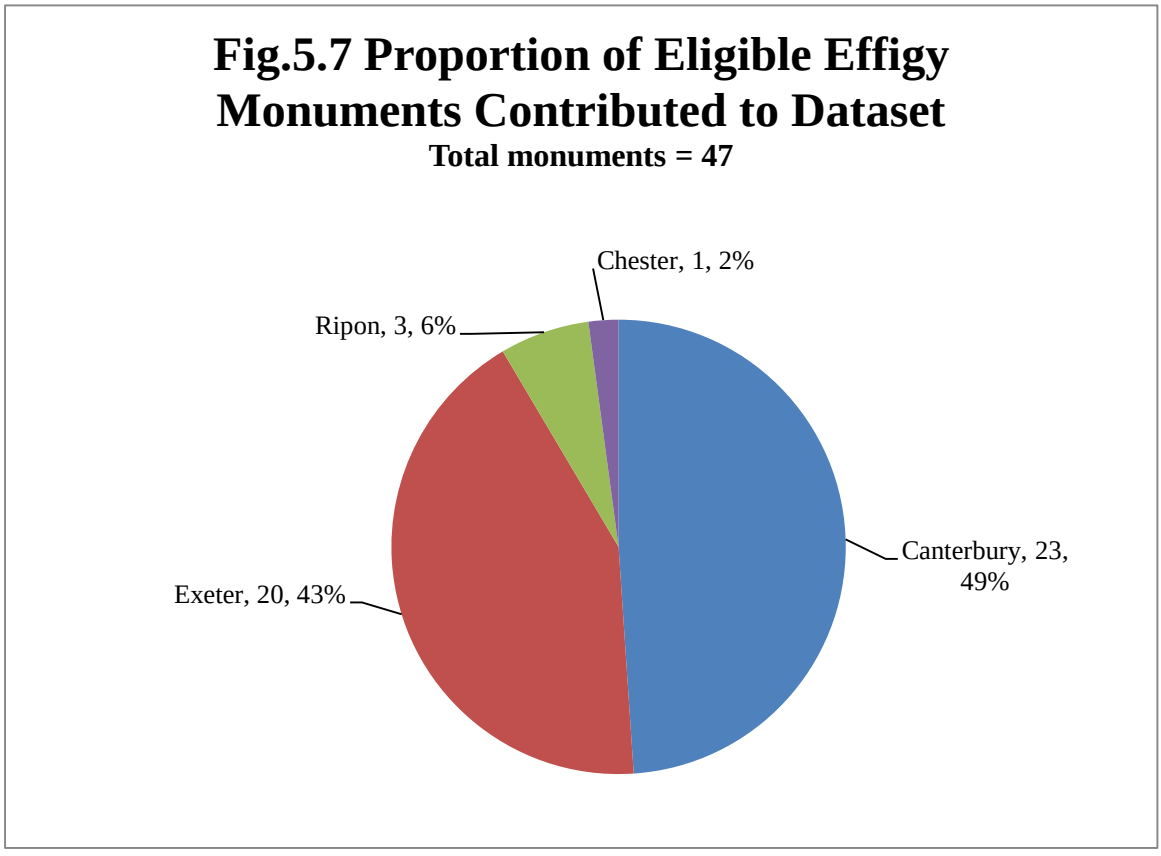
Table 5.2: Period B Effigy Monuments							
No.	**Cathedral**	**Period B Monuments**	**Iconoclasm**	**Gated Chapel**	**Title**	**Death**	**Tomb**
1	Exeter	Cadaver Tomb [Anthony Harvey?]	Yes	No	Lay		c.1564
2	Canterbury	Dean Wotton	No	No	Clergy	1567	
3	Canterbury	Richard Lee	Yes	Yes	Lay	--	1592
4	Exeter	Gawen Carew	No	Yes	Lay	1585	1589
5		Mary Carew	No		Lay	?	
6		Peter Carew	No		Lay	?	
7	Exeter	John Gilbert	Yes	?	Lay	1596	1596
8		Elizabeth Gilbert	Yes		Lay	?	
9	Canterbury	Dean Neville	No	Yes?	Clergy	1615	1599
10		Alexander Neville	No		Lay		
11	Chester	Thomas Greene	Yes	No	Lay	1607	1607
12		Ellen Greene	Yes	No	Lay	?	
13		Dorothie Greene	Yes	No	Lay	?	

Table 5.2: Period B Effigy Monuments[continued]							
14	Ripon	Dean Fowler	Yes	?	Clergy	1608	
15	Canterbury	Lady Thornhurst	Yes	Yes	Lay	1609	1609
16		Sir Richard Baker	Yes		Lay	?	
17	Canterbury	John Boys	Yes	No	Lay		1612
18	Exeter	Dorothea Doderidge	Yes	Yes	Lay		1614
19	Exeter	Bishop Cotton	Yes	No	Clergy	1621	
20	Canterbury	Dean Boys	No	Yes	Clergy	1625	
21	Exeter	Bishop Carey	Yes	No	Clergy	1626	
22	Canterbury	Thomas Thornhurst	No	Yes	Lay	1627	1627
23		Barbara Thornhurst	No		Lay	?	
24	Exeter	John Doderidge	No	Yes	Lay	1628	
25	Canterbury	William Prude	No	Yes	Lay	1632	

Table 5.3: Period C Effigy Monuments			
Cathedral	**Effigy Tomb**	**Death**	**Tomb date**
Ripon	Sir Edward Blackett	1718	
Exeter	James Northcote [Painter]	1831	
Canterbury	Archbishop Howley	1848	
Canterbury	Dean Lyall	1857	
Canterbury	Archbishop Sumner	1862	1866
Chester	Bishop Graham	1865	
Canterbury	Archbishop Tait	1882	
Canterbury	Bishop Broughton	1883	
Chester	Bishop Pearson	1883	
Canterbury	Bishop Parry	1890	
St Albans	Bishop Claughton	1892	
Canterbury	Archbishop Benson	1896	
Chester	Duke Hugh Grosvenor	1899	
Canterbury	Archbishop Davidson	1928	
Canterbury	Archbishop Temple	1902	

Distribution of Evidence: over time and across the cathedrals

Evidence for iconoclasm was not equally distributed across the cathedrals as outlined in Fig.5.7. Canterbury and Exeter made the largest contribution of data (91% combined, 43/47 monuments), with supplementary material from Chester and Ripon. The sole extant effigy tomb at St Albans is from the 19th century. A distinction was made between damage to 'main effigies' (the life-sized primary effigy); 'attendants' (smaller figurines and animals accompanying the main effigy); and 'effigy tombs' (the whole tomb, including the plinth or other features). This allowed the study to isolate and focus upon damage made to the main effigial body, and relate findings to gender, gesture, and office.



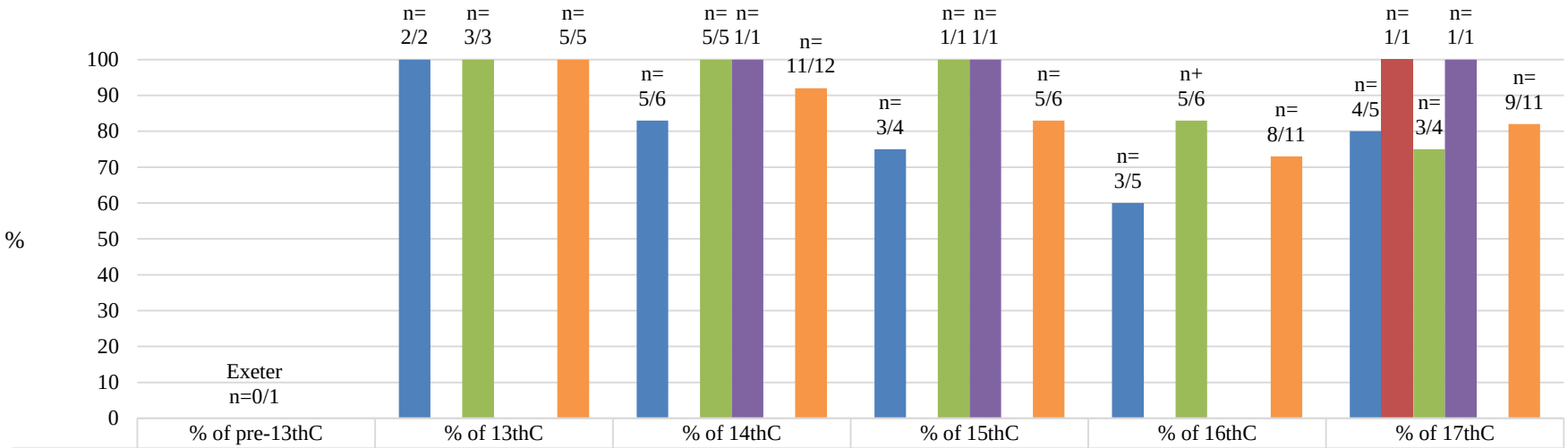
As Table 5.4 demonstrates, damage on monuments surviving from Period A is broadly comparable in frequency across Canterbury (average 5.0 sites of damage per effigy) and Exeter (average 5.8 sites of damage per effigy). However, judging by extant monuments, Exeter appears to have suffered greater damage per effigy than Canterbury, particularly on Period B tombs where Exeter averages 2.2 sites of damage per effigy to only 0.8 sites per effigy at Canterbury.

Table 5.4. Comparison of Iconoclastic Damage at Canterbury and Exeter cathedrals

Period A	**Total Effigies**	**Total Damage Sites**	**No. of Effigies with iconoclasm**	**Average No. Sites of Damage Per Effigy**
Canterbury	18	71	14	5.0
Exeter	14	64	11	5.8
Period B	**Total Effigies**	**Total Damage Sites**	**No. of Effigies with iconoclasm**	**Average No. Sites of Damage Per Effigy**
Canterbury	11	5	4	0.8
Exeter	10	15	5	2.2

Figure 5.8 indicates the date of tombs did not influence iconoclasts; tombs from all centuries were attacked, except Bishop Leofric (or Bishop Iscanus) at Exeter (pre-13th century) which may have been inaccessible until the 19th century (Oliver, 1861, 8). The 16th century tombs in this sample have proportionally fewer damaged tombs than the preceding and following centuries (Fig.5.8). This may reflect a reluctance to damage new tombs during Reformation-era iconoclasm, but the later 17th century tombs received as much damage as their pre-Reformation counterparts.

Fig. 5.8 Percentage of Surviving Effigy Monuments with Iconoclasm per century



	% of pre-13thC	% of 13thC	% of 14thC	% of 15thC	% of 16thC	% of 17thC
Canterbury	0	100	83	75	60	80
Chester	0	0	0	0	0	100
Exeter	0	100	100	100	83	75
Ripon	0	0	100	100	0	100
St Albans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	100	92	83	73	82

One further explanation is that 55% (6/11: from Tables 5.1-5.2) of the 16th century tombs in this sample were in gated chapels, potentially protecting them from iconoclasts (see discussion of this below), although four of these were still attacked. This is compared to none of the 11th or 12th century tombs being in gated chapels; only one of the 13th century tombs, which was still attacked (8%, 1/12), and two of the 15th century tombs (33%, 2/6), one of which (Lady Trivet, Canterbury) was also damaged by iconoclasts. For the 17th century tombs, 55% (6/11) also lay inside gated chapels, although two of these were attacked anyway (Lady Thornhurst and Richard Baker, Canterbury and Dorothea Doderidge, Exeter). From this perspective, gated chapels did not provide protection for all tombs.

Summary of Distribution of Evidence

In summary, Canterbury and Exeter provide the bulk of the iconoclastic data for this study. In Period A, both cathedrals suffered broadly comparable levels of damage, but in Period B, Exeter had greater density of damage. Tombs from all centuries were attacked, and gated chapels did not guarantee exemption from iconoclastic damage. However, not all available tombs were subjected to iconoclasm.

General Differences between Period A and Period B Iconoclasm

It is difficult to identify from surviving tombs whether the iconoclasm they suffered was during the 16th or 17th century. However, iconoclasts did not target every single tomb in either period. Table 5.5 and Figure 5.9 compare the damage to monuments versus damage to the main effigy for both periods, demonstrating 90% (26/29) of Period A monuments and 75% (27/36) of Period A effigies across the five cathedrals were damaged by iconoclasm. Damage to Period B tombs appears to have been particularly selective in this sample, since

only 59% (10/17) of tombs and 32% (8/25) of effigies were actually targeted (Fig.5.9 and Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Iconoclasm on Main Effigies versus Monuments						
Cathedral	**Period A Total Monuments**	**Period A Monuments with IC**	**%**	**Period A Total Effigies**	**Period A Main Effigy with IC**	**%**
Canterbury	14	12	**86**	18	13	**72**
Chester	0	0	**0**	0	0	**0**
Exeter	13	12	**92**	14	10	**71**
Ripon	2	2	**100**	4	4	**100**
St Albans	0	0	**0**	0	0	**0**
Totals	**29**	**26**	**90**	**36**	**27**	**75**
Cathedral	**Period B Total Monuments**	**Period B Monuments with IC**	**%**	**Period B Total Effigies**	**Period B Main Effigy with IC**	**%**
Canterbury	8	3	**38**	11	0	**0**
Chester	1	1	**100**	3	3	**100**
Exeter	7	5	**71**	10	4	**40**
Ripon	1	1	**100**	1	1	**100**
St Albans	0	0	**0**	0	0	**0**
Totals	**17**	**10**	**59**	**25**	**8**	**32**

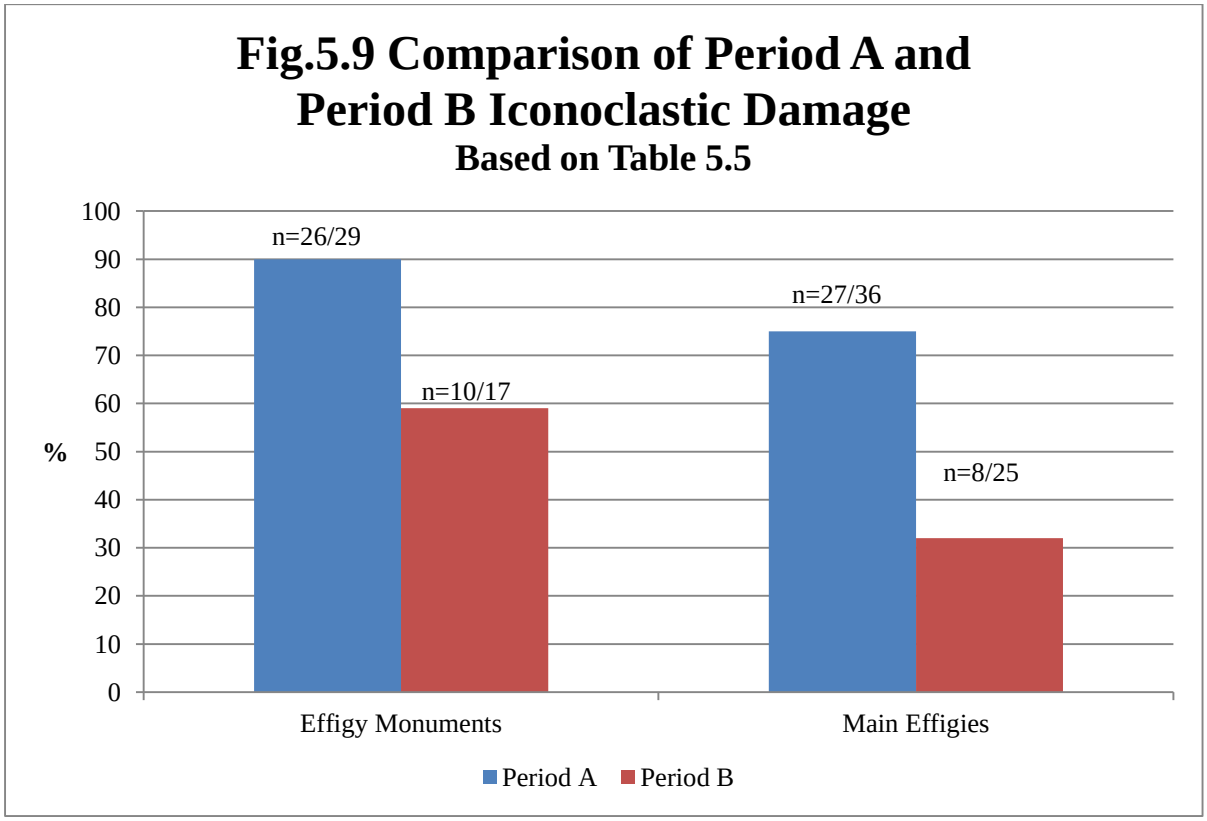
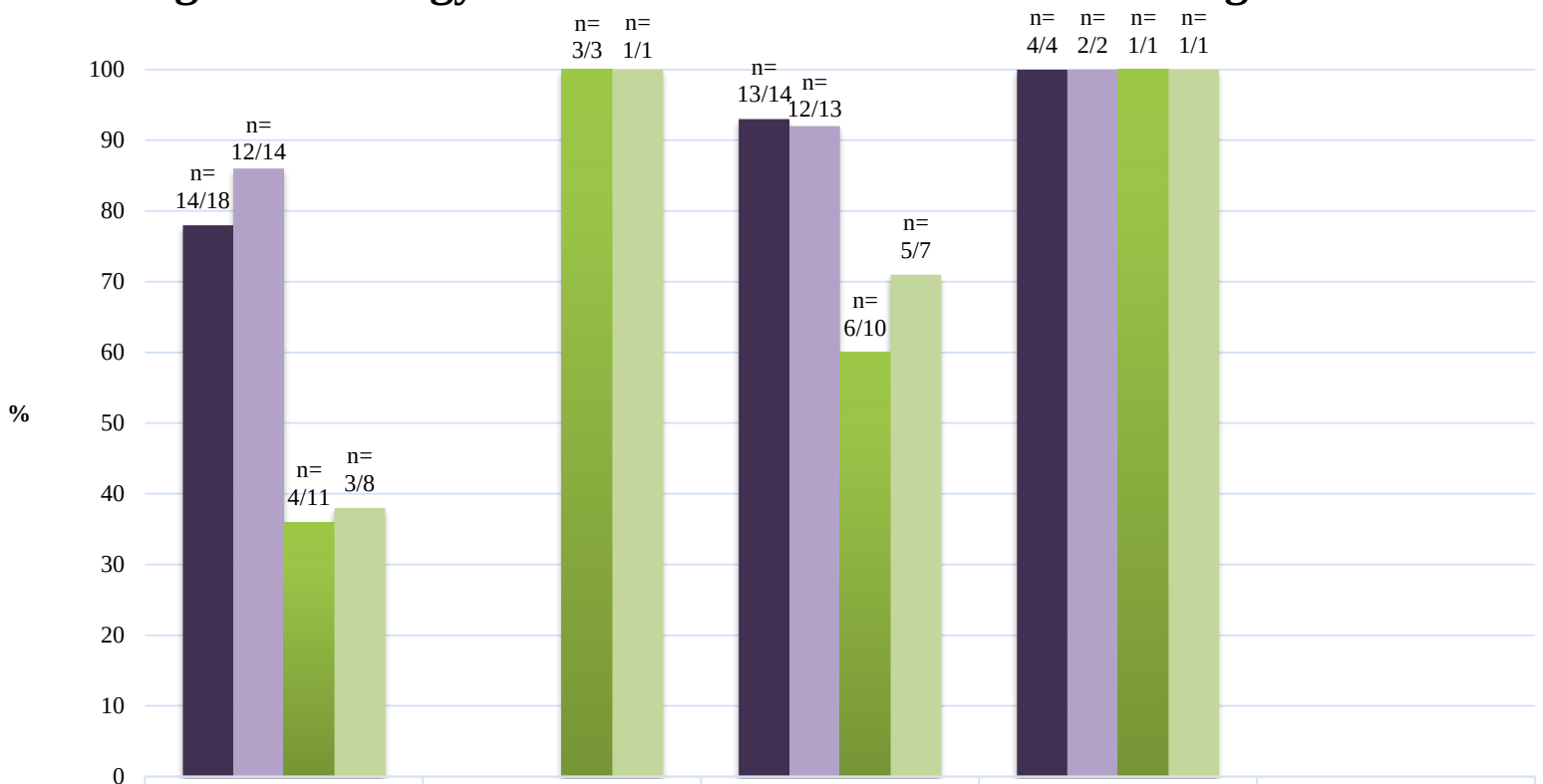


Table 5.5. and Figure 5.10 (below) show that, with the exception of Canterbury Cathedral, Period A effigies were attacked as often, if not more than, the tombs themselves. The difference between effigy and tomb iconoclasm at Canterbury in Period A (78%, 14/18 effigies versus 86%, 12/14 tombs) reflects Archbishop Walter's tomb which was attacked but never had an effigy, and Richard Lee whose effigy was damaged but is technically an attendant figure and has been categorised as such in Table 5.5 (also see Fig.5.12 below). Had they been included as effigies, the proportion would be comparable to Exeter's (89%, 16/18 effigies to 86%, 12/14 tombs).

Figure 5.10 also shows Period B monuments at Canterbury (36%, 4/11) and Exeter (60%, 6/10) were damaged proportionally more often than the effigies on these same monuments. The difference at Canterbury is relatively slim (38%, 3/8) but greater at Exeter (71%, 5/7). It must be reiterated that this is a small, and therefore merely suggestive, sample and regional practices will have impacted the density and style of damage enacted by local iconoclasts.

As Figure 5.11 demonstrates, at Canterbury there was extensive damage to Period A effigies (72%, 13/18) but none of the surviving Period B main effigies have any bodily mutilation, although their attendant figures might be damaged. Similarly, at Exeter there was extensive damage to the primary effigy in Period A (71%, 5/7) but proportionally less damage on existing Period B effigies (40%, 4/10) (Fig.5.11). This does not reflect mutilation of the surrounding tomb or attendant figures. Rather it indicates that damaging the primary effigy/effigies of the deceased was of greater concern for tombs constructed in Period A than in Period B.

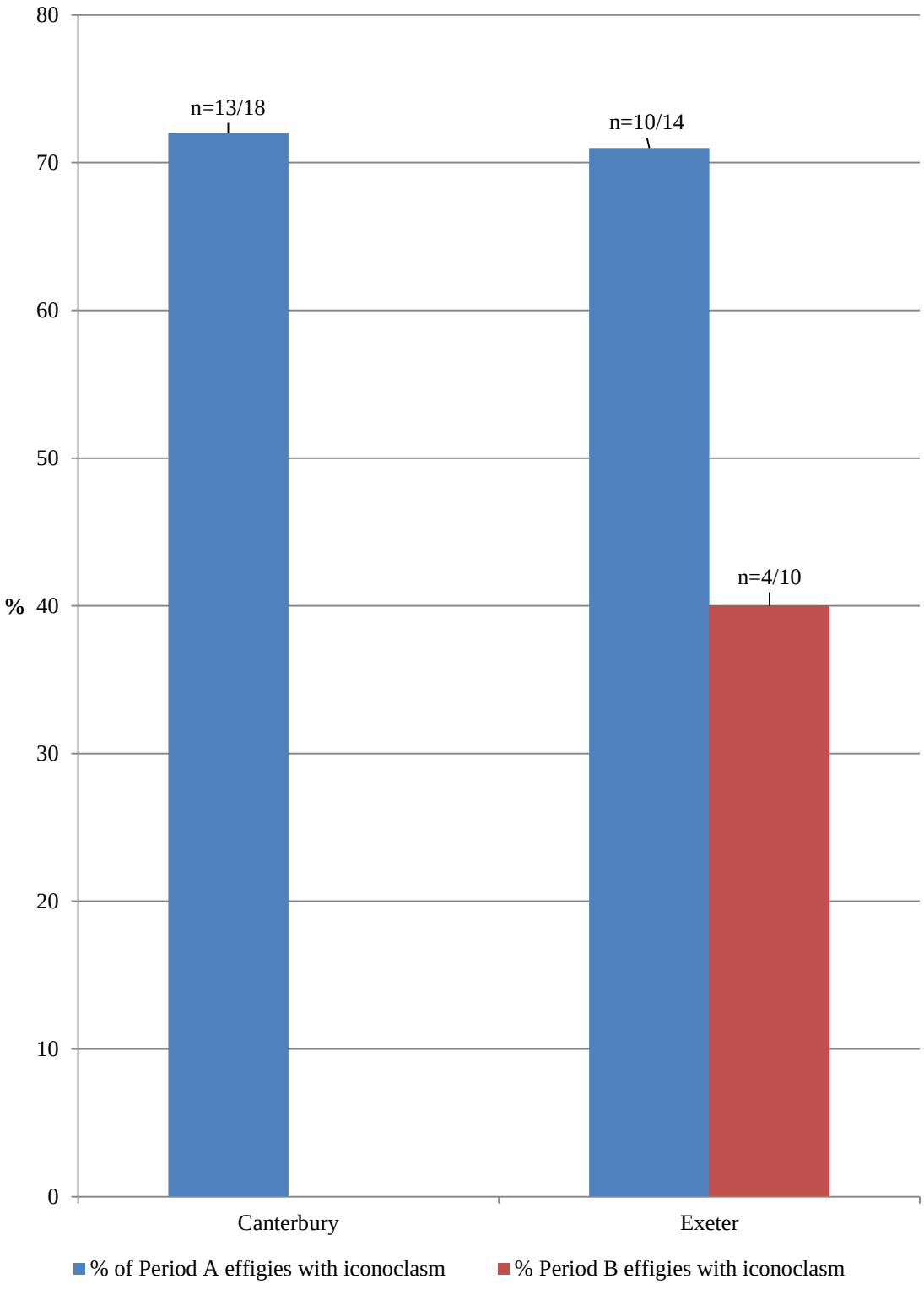
Fig. 5.10 Effigies and Effigy Monuments with Iconoclastic Damage



	Canterbury	Chester	Exeter	Ripon	St Albans
% Period A Effigies with iconoclasm	78	0	93	100	0
% Period A Effigy Monuments with iconoclasm	86	0	92	100	0
% Period B Effigies with iconoclasm	36	100	60	100	0
% Period B Effigy Monuments with iconoclasm	38	100	71	100	0

Fig.5.11.Percentage of all effigy bodies with iconoclastic damage per cathedral

Based on Table 5.5



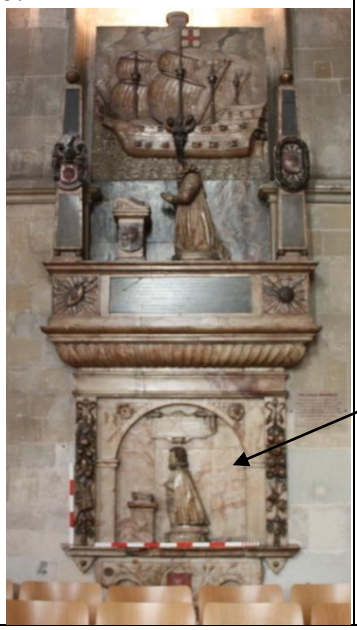
Access Issues

This disparity may be explained by access issues to Period B tombs, many of which were in locked chapels. The unscathed Carew triple-tomb at Exeter was protected inside the chapel of St John the Evangelist (Erskine, Hope & Lloyd, 1988, 106). Very few of the Period B effigy tombs at Canterbury were damaged because most of them were inside St Michael's chapel which was doubly protected "by iron grates and doors" (Gostling, 1825[1779], 252). Thus the general lack of iconoclasm on Period B monuments may, in some cases, reflect increased anxieties and security measures for new elite tombs in the aftermath of Reformation iconoclasm.

The Hales wall memorial (made 1592) and Lady Thornhurst's tomb were both in St Michael's chapel in Period B. Wenceslaus Hollar's ichnography (floor plan including monuments) of Canterbury Cathedral (drawn 1653-4: Fig.5.30 later in this chapter) places both Thornhurst's and the Hales monument in St Michael's chapel roughly a decade after the 1640s iconoclasm at Canterbury Cathedral. In both cases, the main attendants have had their hands and feet cut-off but the principal effigies of Dame Alice Hales [also kneeling in prayer] (Fig.5.12) and Lady Thornhurst (and Richard Baker kneeling in prayer behind her) have been left unharmed (Fig.5.13). There is no observable evidence of these being repaired hands.

Curiously, the other praying effigy monuments in this chapel were also left unharmed. It is possible these monuments were originally located elsewhere, but that still does not explain why the principal effigies were not damaged and the attendants were. Although these attendants are closer to the ground than the primary effigies, making them easier to access, the degree of damage to other tombs with elevated effigies suggests height was not a serious

a.



b.

Fig.5.12. Canterbury Cathedral: north nave aisle: a. Hales Memorial; b. iconoclasm of Richard Lee.

a.

b.

Fig.5.13. Canterbury Cathedral: St Michael's Chapel: a. Thomas and Barbara Thornhurst; b detail of the iconoclasm of attendants.

barrier to determined iconoclasts. Culmer's (1664, 22) use of ladders to reach the windows of Canterbury Cathedral is also testament to the effort made to reach iconography deemed offensive.

Why did the iconoclasts make such a seemingly timid statement and not attack the many easily accessible life-sized praying effigies present? It may represent the Laudian clergy's lip service to anti-Laudian measures imposed on them. It was this timidity which so enraged many members of the public. It may also reflect the recentness of these monuments, and a reluctance to upset the local families who commissioned them. The conscience of the individual iconoclast cannot be excluded either. Any or all of these may contribute to an explanation for the disparity between damage of attendants and the principal effigy. Nonetheless, there was a reluctance to mutilate the main effigies on Period B monuments, and small-scale, clinical removal of the tiny hands and feet of attendant figures was preferred.

Summary of General Differences between Period A and Period B

Period B effigies and tombs seem to have been selectively attacked compared to the widespread damage suffered by Period A effigies and monuments. Effigies were targeted in both periods as often, and even instead of, the tombs they belonged to. The significance of effigial bodies for iconoclasts in both periods therefore needs further consideration, to which we now turn.

Damage to Body Parts: Period A versus Period B: Hand and Nose Combinations

There were comparable levels of damage to hands across both periods. This is evident by comparing damage to the tombs versus damage to the main effigy (collated in Table 5.6 and summarised in Table 5.7 and Figs.5.14-5.15).

Table 5.6: Sites of Iconoclastic Damage: all damaged tombs and monuments from Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and Ripon

** Archbishop Walter does not have an effigy but the four attendant faces on his tomb have been attacked.

Cathedral	Date	Effigy	Period	Nose	Head / Face	Hand/ Arm Pairs	Body Areas	Attendants	Tomb Plinth
Canterbury	1205	Archbishop Walter**	A					4	
Exeter	1206	Bishop Marshall	A					4	
Exeter	1223	Bishop Apulia	A	1	1				
Exeter	1280	Bishop Branscombe	A	1	2	1	3		
Canterbury	1292	Archbishop Pecham	A		1		1		
Exeter	1302	Sir Henry de Raleigh	A					1	
Exeter	1320	Sir Robert Stapledon	A				1		
Exeter	1322	Sir Humphrey de Bohun	A	1	2	0.5			
Exeter	1326	Bishop Stapledon	A	1	2				
Canterbury	1327	Archbishop Reynolds	A	1	1	1		2	
Canterbury	1331	Prior Eastry	A	1	1	1			
Canterbury	1348	Archbishop Stratford	A	1	1	1		multiple	
Canterbury	1375	Lady Mohun	A	1	1	1		2	1
Canterbury	1396	Archbishop Courtenay	A	1		1	1		
Ripon	1398	Sir Thomas Markenfield 1	A	1	3	1	3		
		Lady Dionisia Markenfield	A				1		
Canterbury	1413	King Henry VI	A			1		1	
Exeter	1419	Bishop Stafford	A	1	1	1	2		
Canterbury	1437	Queen Joan of Navarre	A			1			
Canterbury	1443	Lady Trivet	A	1		1		2	
Canterbury	1425	Archbishop Chichele	A	1	1	1	1	4	
		Chichele Transi	A			0.5	2		

Table 5.6: Sites of Iconoclastic Damage [continued] all damaged tombs and monuments from Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and Ripon									
Cathedral	**Date**	**Effigy**	**Period**	**Nose**	**Head / Face**	**Hand/ Arm Pairs**	**Body Areas**	**Attendants**	**Tomb Plinth**
Ripon	1497	Sir Thomas Markenfield 2	A	1	1	1	2		
		Lady Eleanor Markenfield	A	[1]	1 [upper body lost]	1			
Canterbury	1500	Archbishop Morton	A	1	1	1	1	16	
Exeter	1502	Prencentor Sylke	A	1		1	2		
Exeter	1518	Sir John Speke	A	[1]	1	1			
Exeter	1519	Bishop Oldham	A					8	
Canterbury	1532	Archbishop Warham	A	1			1	2	
Exeter	1564?	Cadaver Tomb	B	1	3				
Canterbury	1592	Sir Richard Lee	B					1	
Chester	1607	Thomas Greene [Sheriff]	B			1			
Chester	1607	Ellen Greene	B			1			
Chester	1607	Dorothie Greene	B			1			
Ripon	1608	Dean Fowler	B	[1]	1	0.5	1		1
Canterbury	1609	Lady Thornhurst	B					2	
Canterbury	1609	Richard Baker	B						
Canterbury	1612	Sir John Boys	B					2	
Exeter	1614	Lady Dorothea Doderidge	B						1
Exeter	1621	Bishop Cotton	B					2	
Exeter	1626	Bishop Carey	B			1			
Exeter	1596	Sir John Gilbert	B	1		1		1	
Exeter	1596	Lady Elizabeth Gilbert	B			1			

Table 5.7: Proportions of Body Parts with Iconoclastic Damage
The data represents only effigy tombs where the main effigy has been damaged from Chester, Canterbury, Exeter and Ripon. Monuments where only attendant figures, the tomb plinth and/or canopy were damaged are omitted (3 effigies from Period A, 5 from Period B).

Damage Per Effigy	**Period A [25 effigies]**	**%**	**Period B [8 effigies]**	**%**	**TOTALS [33 effigies]**	**%**
Upper Head	0	--	1 [1/8]	13%	1 [1/33]	3%
Mitre	6 [6/12]	50%	0	--	6 [6/33]	18%
Head Pillow	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Cut mark on face	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Entire Face	*1*	--	*0*	--	*[1]*	*[100%]*
Pairs of Eyes	3 [3/25]	12%	0	--	3 [3/33]	9%
Right Eye	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Nose	18 [18/25]	72%	2 [1/8]	26%	20 [19/33]	61%
Mouth	7 [7/25]	28%	0	--	7 [7/33]	21%
Chin	3 [3/25]	12%	0	--	3 [3/33]	9%
Hands damaged in pairs inc. arms	19 [19/25]	76%	6 [6/8]	75%	25 [25/33]	76%
Left Hand / Fingers	*15 [15/25]*	*60%*	*6 [6/8]*	*75%*	*21 [21/33]*	*64%*
Right Hand / Fingers	*15 [15/25]*	*60%*	*7 [7/8]*	*88%*	*22 [22/33]*	*67%*
Pairs of Arms	*5 [10 hands]*	--	*0*	--	*5*	--
All hands / fingers inc. lost arms	*40 [40/50]*	*80%*	*13 [13/16]*	*81%*	*53 [53/66]*	*80%*
Single hand damaged	*2 [2/25]*	*8%*	*1 [1/8]*	*13%*	*3 [3/33]*	*9%*
Noses + Hands/Arms	14 [14/25]	56%	3 [3/8]	38%	17 [17/33]	52%
Praying Hands	7 [7/11]	64%	6 [6/8]	75%	13 [13/19]	68%
Praying Hands inc. lost arms	*7/15*	*45%*	*6/8*	*75%*	*13/ 23*	*57%*
Blessing Hand + other hand	2 [2/3]	67%	0	--	2 [2/3]	67%
Shield-Sword Hand [1 hand]	1 [cut not removed] [1/2]	50%	0	--	1 [1/2]	50%
Hands by Side	3 [3/3]	100 %	0 [0/1]	--	3 [3/3]	100%

Table 5.7: Proportions of Body Parts with Iconoclastic Damage [continued]
The data represents only effigy tombs where the main effigy has been damaged from Chester, Canterbury, Exeter and Ripon. Monuments where only attendant figures, the tomb plinth and/or canopy were damaged are omitted (3 effigies from Period A, 5 from Period B).

Damage Per Effigy	**Period A [25 effigies]**	**%**	**Period B [8 effigies]**	**%**	**TOTALS [33 effigies]**	**%**
Hands on /over Chest	2 [2/3]	67%	0	--	2 [2/3]	67%
Unknown hand/arm position	4 [inc. torso gone] [4/4]	100%	0	--	4 [4/4]	100%
Hands on Head/by sides	0	--	1 [1/1]	100 %	1 [1/1]	100%
Other Body Parts (not included in Fig. 5.16)						
Torso and head removed	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Lower Body/Both Legs damaged	*2*	--	*1*	--	*3*	--
Left Foot	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Right Shoe tip	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Right Foot	*2*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Left Shoulder	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Sword Handle	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Shield	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Clothing	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--
Staff / Cross Head	*4*	--	*0*	--	*4*	--
Book being held	*1*	--	*0*	--	*1*	--

Praying hands were not always the primary target for iconoclasts (Fig.5.14). Furthermore, praying hands were not always attacked even if the overall monument was: the hands were only attacked in 64% (7/11) of Period A and 75% (6/8) of Period B cases (Fig.5.14-5.15).

Although more of Period B effigies had their hands damaged than Period A examples (Fig.5.14), none of them had lost their arms: attacks had been confined to just the hands. However, the small sample size means this is merely suggestive of a potential trend. None of

Fig.5.14 Comparison of Period A and Period B Iconoclasm of Effigies

Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and Ripon (Table 5.7)

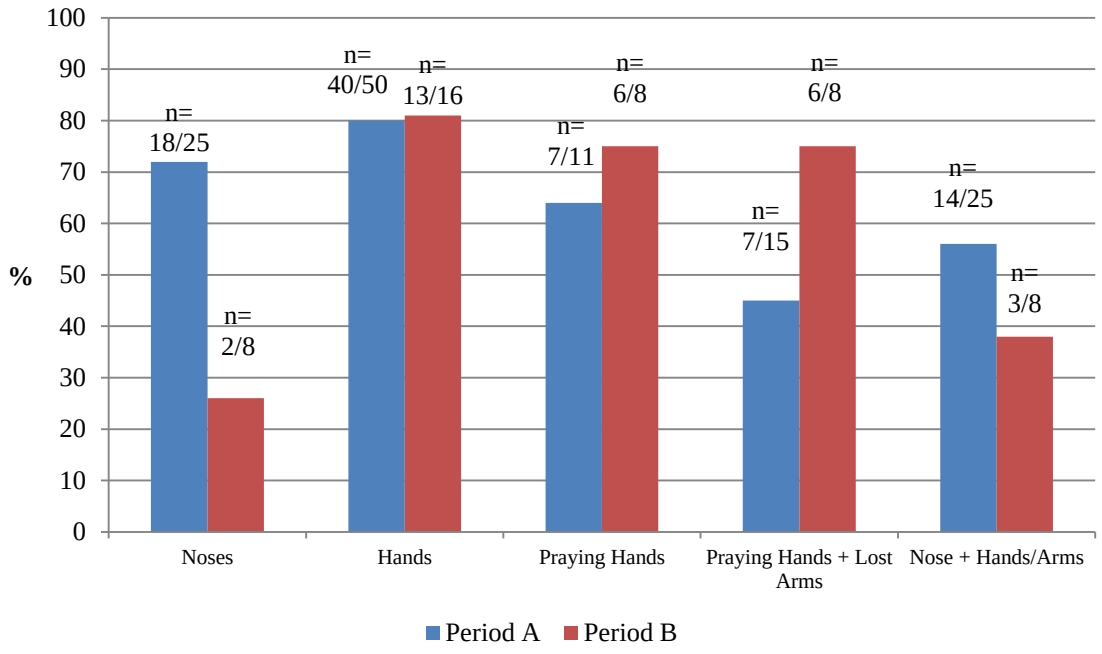
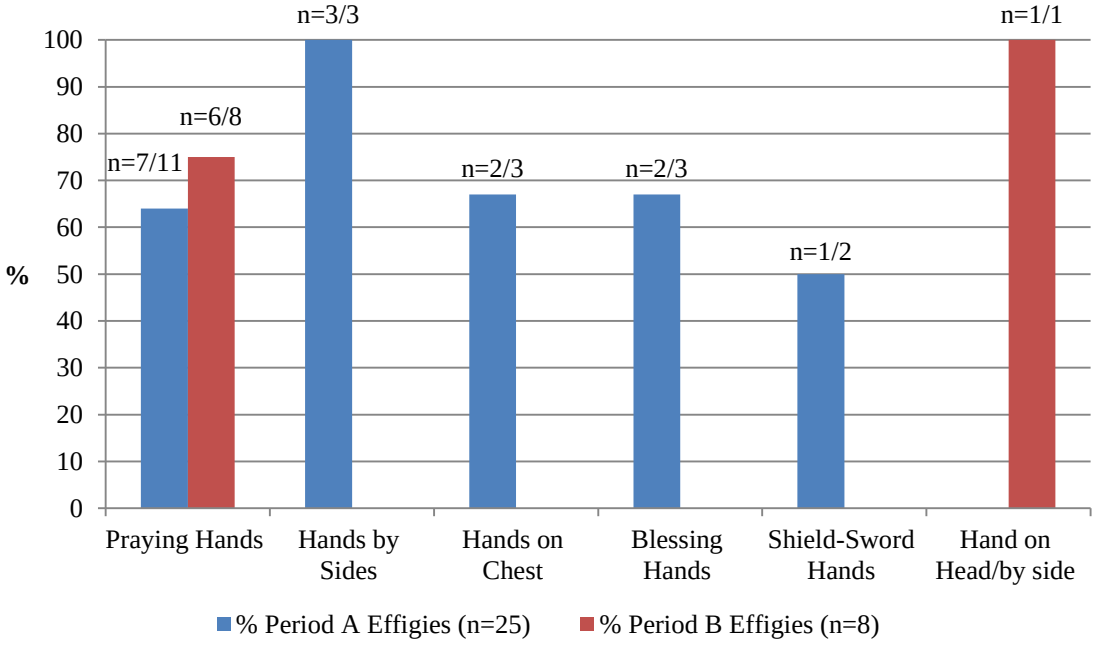


Fig.5.15 Comparison of Hand Damage across Iconoclastic Effigies (Table 5.7)

expressed as a proportion of damaged effigies with this gesture



the Period B hands positioned by their sides, on their chest, or asymmetrically posed were damaged. Iconoclasts appear to have been slightly less interested in other hand gestures (Fig.5.15) and one shield-sword hand was not actually cut off but simply bears a blade mark from a half-hearted or failed attempt to remove the hand (Exeter: Humphrey de Bohun Fig.5.4 above).

Period A versus Period B: Effigy Gesture

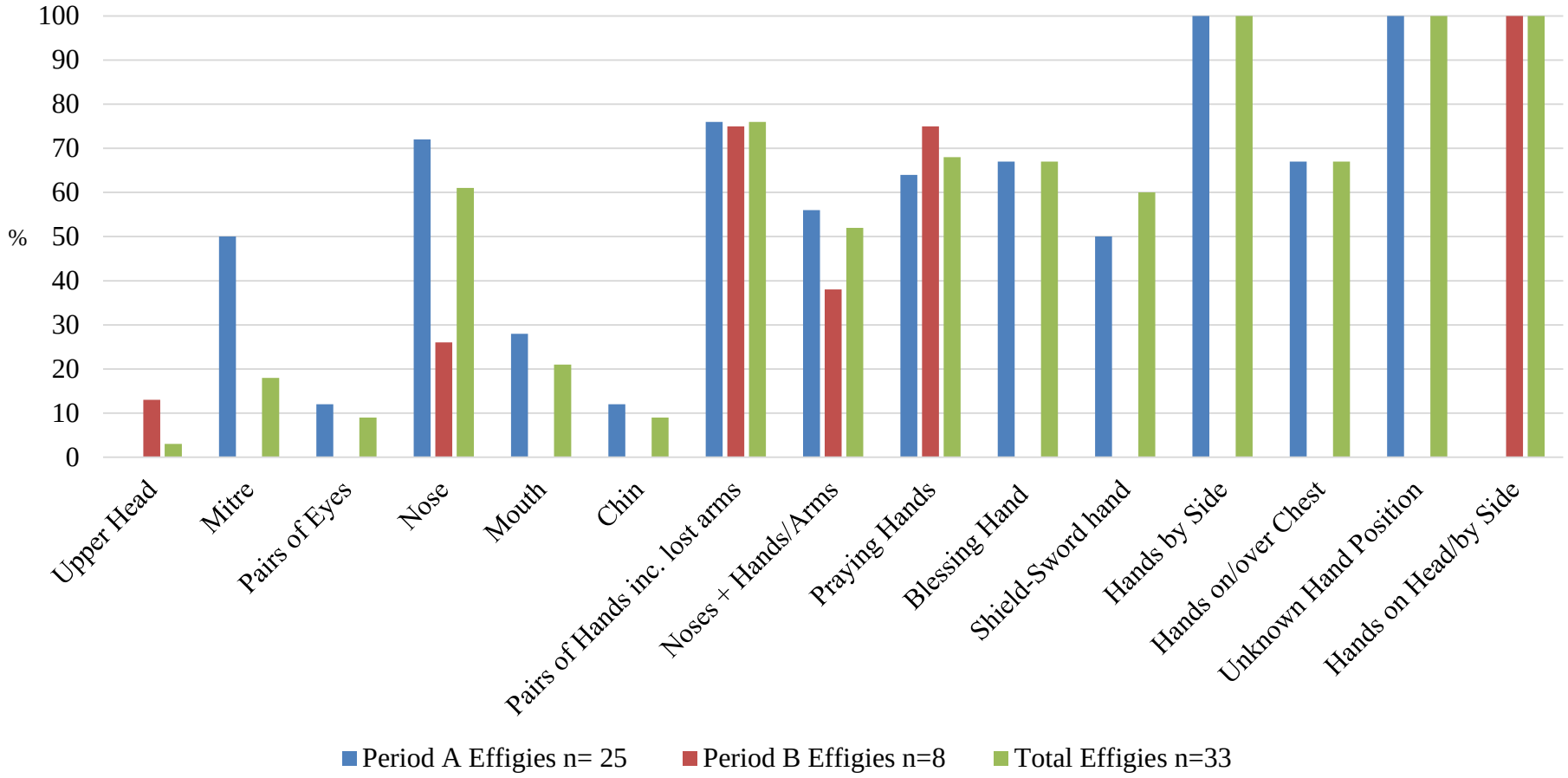
Even though hands were more prone to damage generally, the specific gesture of praying hands was slightly more likely to be defaced on Period B effigies (Period A = 64%, 7/11; Period B= 75%, 6/8: see Table 5.7) suggesting that the iconoclasts with access to these monuments (presumably the clergy) were focussed on specific gestures of prayer rather than widespread mutilation of the body (Fig.5.15).

Of the remaining hand gestures in Period A, 67% (2/3) of blessing hands, 50% (1/2) of sword-shield hands and 67% (2/3) of hands on chest were damaged, which included King Henry VI and Queen Joan. The only alternative hand gesture attacked in Period B was hand on head/hand by sides pose, in which one effigy had only one hand mutilated. There is no overt religious symbolism in this pose and its damage may reflect anger towards the local nobility rather than belief, as discussed by Lindley (2009, 13-15).

A comparison of the body parts selected for attack also suggests damage of Period B tombs was more restrained than in Period A (collated in Table 5.7 and a subset summarised in Fig. 5.16). The most commonly attacked body parts on Period A effigies were the hands or arms (19 of 25 effigies / 76%) and the nose (18 of 25 effigies / 72%) outlined in Table 5.7 (also: Fig.5.16). On Period B tombs the trend was similar but not identical. Hands were again the

Figure 5.16 Body Parts Damaged by Iconoclasm

(Main categories of Table 5.7)



most commonly targeted but, in this sample, no arms had been removed. Llewellyn (2000, 263) has warned that arms and hands attached with wooden dowels may have dropped off when the wood rotted, and be wrongly misidentified as victims of iconoclasm. However, no visible evidence of dowel holes or similar connecting joints could be seen on the effigies in this dataset. This appears to be a genuine trend in this sample towards small-scale hand mutilation in Period B compared to chopping off entire arms in Period A.

Summary of Damage to Body Parts: Period A versus Period B

In summary, the greatest disparity between Period A and B is the damage to noses, which were commonly attacked in Period A but less frequently attacked in Period B. In comparison, damaged hands were common in both periods, especially praying hands in Period B. Thus noses were a significant body part for damage during the Reformation, but praying hands were proportionally more important to iconoclasts during the 1640s. Period B damage was more restrained and selective than Period A damage, evidenced by the focus on small-scale hand damage and that there are no missing arms for Period B effigies in this sample. This is compared to five Period A effigies with missing arms (20%, 5/25). Moreover, only 64% (7/11) of Period A effigies with praying hands had their hands attacked compared to 75% (6/8) of Period B effigies. Therefore, nose damage was more frequent on Period A effigies whereas praying hands were more often attacked on Period B effigies.

Noses were the second most frequently attacked body part but in contrast only 26% of Period B effigies had this form of damage. It would appear that Puritan iconoclasts were predominantly concerned with removing just the hands of their targets. Damage to other areas of the face and head, particularly the mouth and chin was often collateral damage as the blade removing the nose swept down the face. Lips do not appear to be deliberate targets. Generally

speaking, the prime differences between Period A and Period B damage is that the latter had fewer sites on the body attacked; fewer monuments were mutilated; and greater restraint was shown in some cases by damaging attendant figures rather than the main effigy, as previously discussed in this chapter and exemplified in Figure 5.12.

Effigy Gender and Status: Period A versus Period B

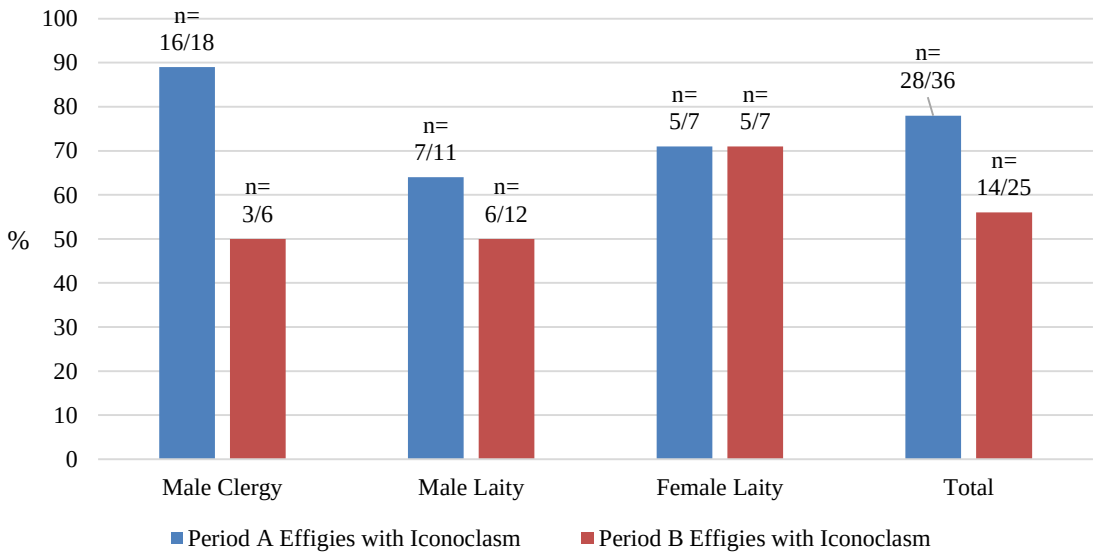
The status and gender of damaged effigies was compared to see if these aspects made them more vulnerable to iconoclasm (see Table 5.8). The effigies were placed into three categories: female, lay males, and male clergy. Comparing Periods A and B in figure 5.17, it is apparent that Period A female effigies received the fewest attacks yet male clergy received the fewest in Period B.

Table 5.8. Sites of Iconoclastic Damage: Gender and Office
IC = damaged by iconoclasm ** Archbishop Walter's tomb omitted (not an effigy)

Period A	**Total No. Effigies from IC Tombs**	**No. Main Effigies with Damage**	**% of Effigies Damaged**	**Total No. Damage Sites**	**Average Sites Per Effigy**
Females	7	5	71%	17	3.4
Male Lay	11	7	64%	39	5.6
Male Clergy	18	16**	89%	95	5.9
TOTAL	36	28	78%	151	5.4
Period B	**Total No. Effigies from IC Tombs**	**No. Main Effigies with Damage**	**% of Effigies Damaged**	**Total No. Damage Sites**	**Average Sites Per Effigy**
Females	7	5	71%	9	0.6
Male Lay	12	6	50%	13	0.5
Male Clergy	6	3	50%	8	0.4
TOTAL	25	14	56%	30	2.1

In Figure 5.17 proportionally more Period A male clergy effigies were attacked (89%) than Period B effigies (50%). The same trend is true for male laity effigies, although the disparity is smaller: 64% of Period A (7/11) compared to 50% of Period B (6/12). Male laity effigies were also the least likely to be damaged in this sample. Female laity effigies, however, were damaged in the same proportion across both periods (67%, 5/7). Overall, more Period A effigies were damaged than Period B effigies, once again underlining the relative restraint of the 17th century iconoclasts.

Fig. 5.17 Effigies with Iconoclastic Damage Gender and Status (Table 5.8)



Effigy Gesture, Gender and Status

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (see previous: 'English Iconoclasm Studies: Iconoclasm and Identity), Graves (2008, 37, 47-8) suggested in her study that iconoclasm was conducted regardless of the genders and statuses of effigies, with particular emphasis on heads, hands, and noses. This analysis (sample collated in Table 5.9-5.11 and summarised in Figure 5.18) of damage to effigy hands versus gender, suggests gender/status did impact whether hands were mutilated.

Table 5.9: Period A: Hand Positions of Effigies with Iconoclastic Damage					
Cathedral	**Period A Monuments**	**Death**	**Tomb**	**Hand Position**	**Hands Attacked**
Canterbury	Archbishop Walter	1205		----	----
Exeter	Bishop Marshall	1206		Blessing	No
Exeter	Bishop Apulia	1223		Over chest	No
Exeter	Bishop Branscombe	1280		Blessing	Yes
Canterbury	Archbishop Pecham	1292		Blessing	Yes
Exeter	Henry de Raleigh	1302		Sword-Shield	No
Exeter	Robert Stapledon	1320		Sword	No
Exeter	Humphrey de Bohun	1322		Sword	Yes [cut]
Exeter	Bishop Stapledon	1326		Praying with a book	No
Canterbury	Archbishop Reynolds	1327		Praying	Yes
Canterbury	Prior Eastry	1331		Praying	Yes
Canterbury	Archbishop Stratford	1348		Praying	Yes
Canterbury	Lady Mohun	1375		Praying	Yes
Exeter	Hugh Courtenay	1377	1391	Unknown [praying]	Yes
	Lady Courtenay	1391		Unknown [praying]	Yes
Canterbury	Archbishop Courtenay	1396		Praying	Yes
Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 1	1398		Unknown [praying]	Yes
	Dionisia Markenfield	?		Unknown [praying]	Yes
Canterbury	Henry IV	1413	1413	Over chest	Yes
	Joan of Navarre	1437		Over chest	Yes
Exeter	Bishop Stafford	1419		Praying	Yes
Canterbury	Archbishop Chichele	1443		Praying	Yes
	Chichele Cadaver	--		By sides	Yes
Canterbury	Lady Trivet	1443		By sides	Yes
Ripon	Thomas Markenfield 2	1497		Unknown [praying]	Yes
	Eleanor Markenfield	?		Unknown [praying]	Yes
Canterbury	Archbishop Morton	1500		Praying	Yes
Exeter	Precentor Sylke	1502		Unknown [by sides]	Yes
Exeter	John Speke	1518		Praying	Yes

Table 5.9: Period A: Hand Positions of Effigies with Iconoclastic Damage [continued]					
Exeter	Bishop Oldham	1519		Praying	No
Canterbury	Archbishop Warham	1532		Praying	No

Table 5.10: Period B: Hand Positions of Effigies with Iconoclastic Damage					
Cathedral	**Period B Monuments**	**Death**	**Tomb**	**Hand Position**	**Hands Attacked**
Exeter	Cadaver Tomb	?	1564?	By sides	No
Canterbury	Richard Lee	?	1592	Praying	Yes
Exeter	John Gilbert	1596		Praying	Yes
	Elizabeth Gilbert	?		Praying	Yes
Chester	Thomas Greene	1603	1603	Praying	Yes
	Ellen Greene	?		Praying	Yes
	Dorothie Greene	?		Praying	Yes
Ripon	Dean Fowler	1608		1 by head / 1 by side	Yes
Canterbury	Lady Thornhurst	1609	1609	1 by head / 1 by side	No
	Sir Richard Baker	?		Praying	No
Canterbury	John Boys	1612		1 by head / 1 by side	No
Exeter	Dorothea Doderidge	1614		1 by head / 1 by side	No
Exeter	Bishop Cotton	1621		Praying: clasped over chest	No
Exeter	Bishop Carey	1626		Praying	Yes

Table 5.11 Comparison of Hands on Effigies with and without Iconoclastic Damage

IC = Effigy damaged by iconoclasm. Data includes all tombs and monuments with effigies from Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and Ripon. Archbishop Walter's tomb omitted from Period A Male Clergy as it is not an effigy.

Period A Effigy Hands	**Female**	**Female IC**	**%**	**Male Lay**	**Male Lay IC**	**%**	**Male Clergy**	**Male Clergy IC**	**%**	**Total Effigies**	**Total Effigies IC**	**% of Total**
Praying	0	0	0	1	1	100%	10	7	70%	11	8	73%
By Sides	2	2	100%	0	0	0	1	1	100%	3	3	100%
Blessing	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	67%	3	2	67%
On Chest	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	1	0	0	3	2	67%
Sword-Shield	0	0	0	3	1	33%	0	0	0	3	1	33%
Unknown	2	2	100%	2	2	100%	1	1	100%	5	5	100%
TOTAL	**5**	**5**	**100%**	**7**	**5**	**71%**	**16**	**11**	69%	28	21	75%
Period B Effigy Hands	**Female**	**Female IC**	**%**	**Male Lay**	**Male Lay IC**	**%**	**Male Clergy**	**Male Clergy IC**	**%**	**Total Effigies**	**Total Effigies IC**	**% of Total**
Praying	3	3	100%	4	3	75%	2	1	50%	9	7	78%
By Sides	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	100%
On Chest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Head/Sides	2	0	0	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	4	2	50%
Asymmetrical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**5**	**3**	**60%**	**6**	**4**	**67%**	**3**	**2**	67%	13	9	69%

Fig.5.18 Nose/Face - Hand/Arm damage per social group across both periods

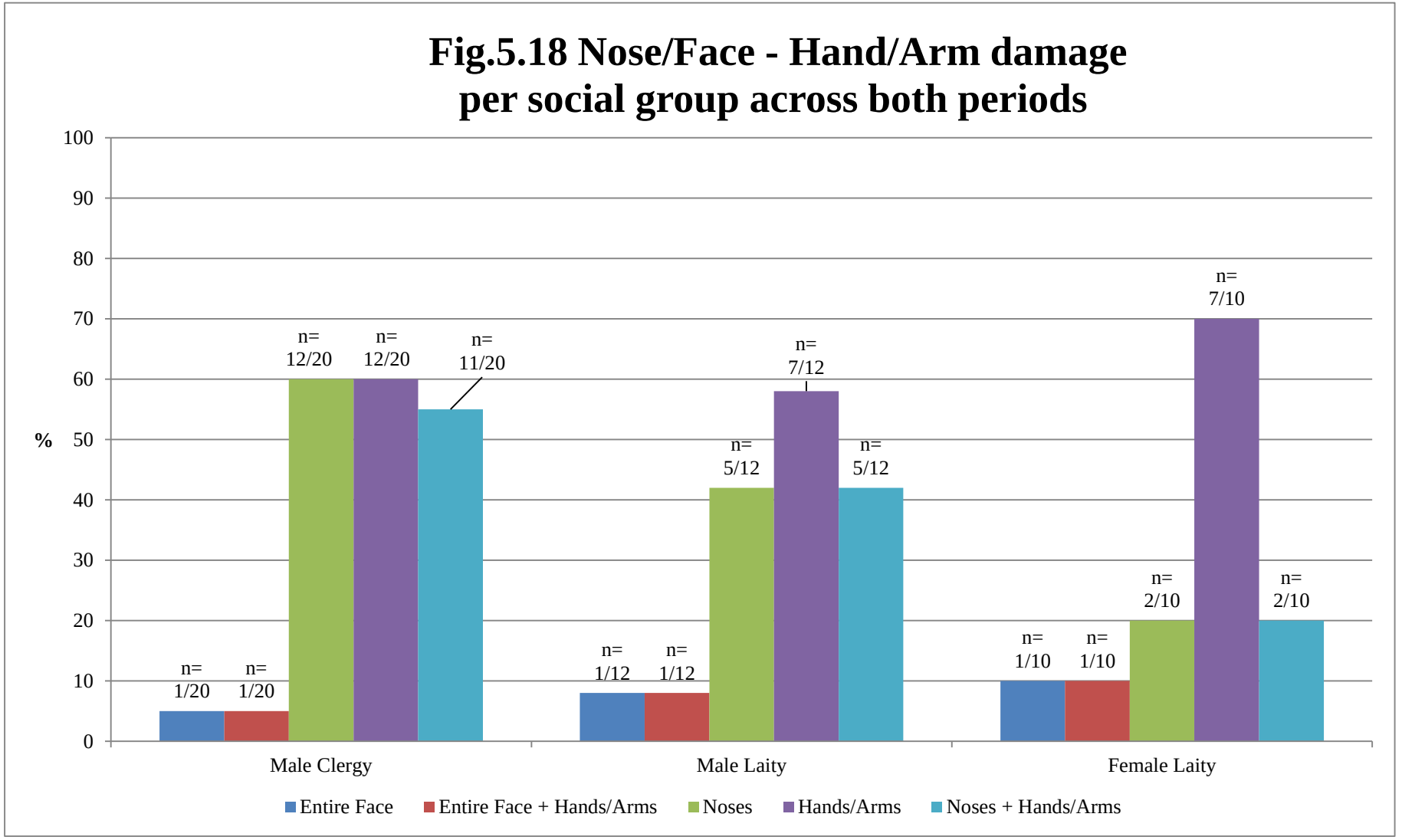


Figure 5.18 shows the main body parts affected by iconoclasm, both singly and in combination for each gender/status category. Figure 5.18 and the following analysis relates to the total effigies from both periods per category. Of the 20 male clergy effigies, damage to the entire face was uncommon (5%, 1/20) but noses had been singled out for attacks on 12 of the effigies (60%, 12/20). Hands/arms were targeted as frequently as noses (60%, 12/20). Eleven of these 12 effigies had their noses and their hands/arms damaged in tandem (55%).

Of the 12 male lay effigies, damage to the entire face was also uncommon (8%, 1/12) compared to noses (42%, 5/12) and hands/arms (58%, 7/12) which were more frequently selected for iconoclasm. Five of the 12 effigies had both their noses and hands/arms attacked (42%, 5/12), indicating that hands/arms were more likely to be damaged on their own, whereas noses were damaged in tandem with hands/arms for male laity.

Of the 10 female effigies from both periods, only one had their entire face damaged (10%, 1/10) mirroring the trend noted for male faces of both laity and clergy. Hands/arms were far more commonly attacked on female effigies (70%, 7/10) than noses (20%, 2/10). In fact, this is the highest proportion of hand/arm damage for all three categories, although female effigies were also the smallest sample.

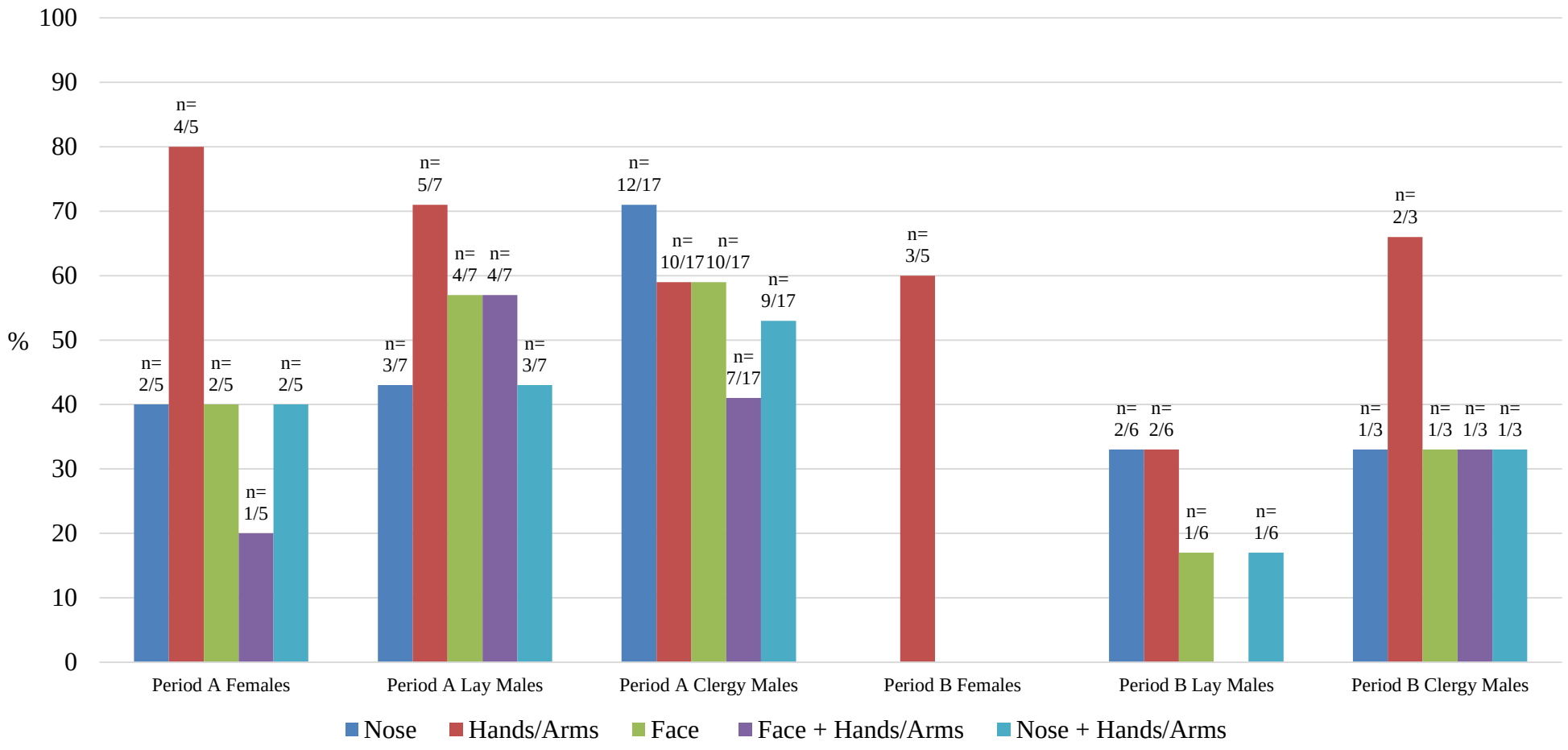
Overall, the effigies of male and female laity follow the same trends across both periods, with emphasis on damage to their hands/arms rather than their entire face or noses. Noses were more commonly attacked on male effigies (laity and clergy) than females, suggesting this was related to masculine identity. Male clergy, however, had their noses attacked more often than their hands/arms, further suggesting not only noses as a masculine attribute worthy of damaging but also an attribute associated particularly with clergymen.

Breaking gender and status down by period (Fig.5.19), hands and/or arms were the most commonly targeted body parts on females and the only body parts attacked in Period B. Lay males also had their hands/arms attacked more than any other body part in Period B, mirroring female trends. Clergy, however, were more likely to have their noses damaged than hands in Period A. In Period B, damage was exclusive to female hands; noses and hands were targets for lay males, and clergy were more likely to have their hands attacked than their noses.

Figure 5.19 compares the body part damage between male and female effigies between both periods. Period A female effigies had their hands/arms attacked (80%, 4/5) more their noses (40%, 2/5) or face (40%, 2/5). Noses could be attacked in tandem with hands/arms (40%, 2/5). Period A lay male effigies were also most likely to have their hands/arms attacked (71%, 5/7) and least likely to have their noses damaged (43%, 3/7), following a similar pattern to lay female effigies in Period A. However, their entire face was more likely to be attacked (57%, 4/7) than their noses, and this was often in tandem with their hands/arms (57%, 4/7). Period A male clergy effigies follow a different pattern to their lay counterparts. Noses are the most commonly attacked body part (71%, 12/17), beyond hand/arm damage (59%, 10/17). Their entire face was also slightly more likely to be mutilated (59%, 10/17) compared to lay males (57%, 4/7) and females (40%, 2/5).

In summary, Period A male and female lay effigies were attacked in a similar manner, with emphasis on their hands/arms. The noses of clergy effigies were popular targets for iconoclasts, but were not as important on lay effigies, especially on female examples.

Fig.5.19 Comparison of Period A and Period B Body Part Damage



In Period B, the female effigies in this sample only had their hands attacked (60%, 3/5): no noses or faces were damaged and no arms were cut-off. Of the three gender/status categories, Period B females had the most restricted range of body part damage, suggesting a reluctance to mutilate their entire bodies. Lay male effigies in Period B had their noses and hands attacked in the same (low) proportions (33%, 2/6) but only one of them had their nose and hands attacked together (17%, 1/6). Only one effigy had their face mutilated but this was not done in conjunction with their hands (17%, 1/6). Thus lay male effigies in Period B had lower proportions of body damage compared to their Period A counterparts, and key body parts were not often targeted together on the same effigy. Period B clergy effigies were the smallest sample (only three examples), so any patterns are merely suggestive. Hands were the most commonly mutilated body part (67%, 2/3) rather than noses (33%, 1/3) which were the most popular site of effigy damage on Period A clergymen.

Although the sample for Period B effigies is much smaller than Period A, the overall emphasis for 17th-century iconoclasts was on hands across all three categories. Noses played less of a role in the mutilation of male effigies compared to Period A, even for clergymen. Female effigies had no other body parts affected by iconoclasm, emphasising the restraint, may be even reluctance, of 17th-century iconoclasts regarding the female form, and the general small-scale damage to post-Reformation effigies in this study.

Average Number of Sites of Iconoclastic Damage by Gender and Office

Further analysis was conducted to determine whether more specific attributes of effigy identity affected how they were targeted by iconoclasts. Table 5.12 outlines the breakdown of each gender/status category: male and female lay effigies are subdivided into royalty, nobility

Average Number of Sites of Iconoclastic Damage by Gender and Office

Table 5.12: Average Number of Sites of Iconoclastic Damage by Gender and Office						
Group	**Tombs with Iconoclasm**	**No. Damage Sites**	**Average sites per Tomb**	**Effigies with body damage**	**No. sites of body damage**	**Average sites per Effigy**
Females (Lay)	**10**	**20**	**2.0**	**8**	**12**	**1.5**
Royalty	*1*	*1*	*1.0*	*1*	*1*	*1.0*
Nobility	*7*	*17*	*2.4*	*5*	*9*	*1.8*
Other	*2*	*2*	*1.0*	*2*	*2*	*2.0*
Males (Lay)	**13**	**34.5**	**2.7**	**9**	**28.5**	**3.2**
Royalty	*1*	*2*	*1.0*	*1*	*1*	*1.0*
Nobility	*10*	*27.5*	*2.8*	*6*	*22.5*	*3.8*
Other	*2*	*5*	*2.5*	*2*	*5*	*2.5*
Males (Clergy)	**20**	**94**	**4.7**	**16**	**51**	**3.2**
Archbishops	*9*	*51.5*	*5.6*	*8*	*23.5*	*2.9*
Bishops	*8*	*32*	*4.0*	*5*	*18*	*3.6*
Minor Clergy	*2*	*7*	*3.5*	*2*	*7*	*3.5*
Deans	*1*	*3.5*	*3.5*	*1*	*2.5*	*2.5*
TOTAL	**43**	**148.5**	**3.5**	**33**	**91.5**	**2.8**

and other statuses, while male clergy are subdivided into archbishops, bishops, minor clergy, and deans (the latter being post-Reformation). This covers both periods.

Starting with gender differences, female effigies had the lowest average sites of damage (1.5 per effigy) compared to male effigies (3.2 per effigy for both male lay and clergy). When the overall damage to the whole tomb was considered, rather than just the primary effigy, females still had the lowest average (2.0 damage sites per tomb) but there was a marked difference between male lay (2.7) and clergy (4.7) tombs. The sub-categories of female and male lay identities reveals female royalty, nobility, and other statuses also received less frequent damage than their male counterparts.

Focussing on status, there was only one royal tomb in this sample (King Henry VI and Queen Joan at Canterbury) so attacks on royal statuses cannot be fully appreciated in this study. However, the tombs of male (2.8) and female (2.4) nobility received the highest average density of attacks in the lay categories. This pattern was repeated in the effigial bodies of laymen, yet the effigial bodies of female nobility (1.8) did not receive as many sites of damage (on average) as female effigies of other, lesser status (2.0). Given the small sample of female effigy tombs available for study, this may be related to cathedral-specific practices amongst different groups of iconoclasts rather than a definite trend.

Amongst male clergy, the tombs of archbishops (all at Canterbury cathedal) received the highest frequency of attacks (5.6) of this group; yet their main effigies received far fewer sites of damage (2.9) than the effigies of bishops (3.6) and minor clergy (3.5). Tombs and effigies of post-Reformation deans received the (joint) fewest sites of damage on average.

This suggests several things: first, female effigies and tombs were not attacked in the same density as male effigies and tombs indictating representations of gender did influence iconoclasts. Male effigial bodies, regardless of office, required, or at least encouraged, a wider range of attacks to different areas of the body compared to female effigies. Again, this does reflect the intensity of damage but indicates that damage to female effigies was not as widespread across their bodies. Instead, iconoclasm seems to have been aimed at fewer, more specific bodily sites than their male counterparts.

Second the whole tomb, rather than just the main effigy impacted how iconoclasts attacked, the effigies of clergymen, and this may relate to heavy ornamentation of archbishop's tombs with attendants and explicit Catholic imagery. Third, the tombs of noble laymen and women received, on average, more sites of attack than other lay tombs. This may be in reference to the great discontent felt amongst parishioners against the 'great families' who owned much of the land, as discussed by Lindley (2007, 13-15).

Male clergy seem to have received far more additional damage to attendants and the tomb itself than laymen. However, it should be remembered that an average of sites damaged provides the frequency of damage but not the intensity. An effigy may have been attacked at multiple points but the damage may be relatively small, shallow or affect minor areas. Conversely, an effigy may be attacked at only one point but a huge loss of the monument may occur, such as the removal of an entire skirt (e.g. Dionisia Markenfield, Ripon Fig.5.20) or legs (e.g. Precentor Sylke, Exeter Fig.5.20).

a.

b.

Fig.5.20. Effigies with missing limbs

a. Ripon Cathedral: Dionisia Markenfield's missing upper body.

b. Exeter Cathedral: Precentor Sylke's missing legs.

Archbishop tombs were damaged, on average, more than their effigies. As all the archbishops are at Canterbury, this may reflect local rather than widespread practice. However, it could suggest the superstructure surrounding and supporting the effigy held as much, even more, religious conflict for iconoclasts, since canopies, tomb plinths, and attendant figures could depict explicitly Catholic imagery. It is unsurprising that post-Reformation deans have the fewest sites of damage compared to archbishops and bishops, since deans had only been subjected to one period of iconoclasm, partly explaining why they have the fewest sites of damage, along with the relatively restrained nature of 17th century iconoclasm, as argued in this chapter.

Summary of Effigy Gender and Status: Period A versus Period B

Effigies of male and female laity follow broadly similar trends of damage when the two periods are conflated, with emphasis on their hands/arms rather than their entire face or noses. Attacks to the nose are more common amongst male effigies than female. The effigies of clergymen in particular had their noses targeted by iconoclasts more than their hands/arms, indicating a body part with an underlying masculine significance which fuelled its iconoclastic mutilation.

Separating Period A from Period B, body damage revealed that male and female lay effigies were attacked in a similar manner in both periods, with emphasis on their hands/arms, but with key differences regarding attacks on their entire faces, which were more commonly evidenced on male than female effigies. The mutilation of clergy noses was predominant on Period A effigies, with fewer examples and lower proportions for Period B. However, the low sample of Period B clergy effigies is probably a contributing factor. In Period B, the range of affected body parts was smaller, especially for females, and hands were most commonly damaged rather than noses (although two lay males had their noses and hands damaged together). This suggests greater restraint and more specific, targeted damage, particularly towards female bodies, by 17th-century iconoclasts; at least towards more recently built tombs.

Iconoclasm: Summary of Findings

The findings in this analysis indicate that, at Canterbury and Exeter at least, there were comparable patterns of iconoclasm influenced by gender and status of the effigy and the period in which they were installed. Not all tombs were attacked in either period and this was partly influenced by gated chapels. Based solely on the extant effigies, Exeter's tombs appear

to have suffered a greater proportion of iconoclasm than Canterbury, especially in the 1640s-1650s. Because tombs in Period A could also suffer damage in Period B, these findings cannot make a direct comparison between Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm. Period A tombs had also been exposed to a much longer series of iconoclastic campaigns throughout most of the 16th century whereas Puritan iconoclasm was conducted over roughly a decade, with major attacks on monuments occurring in 1642-1643.

Moreover, because iconoclasts had a degree of interpretation as to how they proceeded (Lindley, 2007, 24), the personal religious beliefs and social views of the individual or group probably influenced how iconoclasm was enacted by them. This may have been compounded by relationships with the local families who had installed effigy tombs in the church or cathedral within living memory (Lindley, 2007, 32-4, 213). There are also those whose memory is recorded/recalled but are no longer respected or whose descendants are no longer in the area. As a result, the findings of this sample are merely suggestive rather than conclusive evidence of iconoclastic trends in the 16th and 17th centuries. Future research using a larger sample may elucidate both regional and national trends across cathedrals and churches.

According to the evidence in this dataset, available tombs from all centuries were targeted. However, the age of the tomb appears to have made a difference to 17th-century iconoclasts who seem reluctant, or at least more restrained, with post-Reformation tombs. This has been demonstrated through the reduced range of body parts damaged, particularly for Period B females; the focus on hands but not whole arms, and fewer facial areas were mutilated, including noses. The careful removal of hands from attendant figures rather than the primary effigies on some Period B tombs has also been noted.

Male and female lay tombs and effigies received broadly similar patterns of damage across both periods, with praying hands being the most common body part attacked on lay effigies. The hand gesture, the amount of damage to the effigial monument or body, and whether the monument was extant in the 16th or 17th century, all influenced whether hands were attacked by iconoclasts. Females were less likely to have facial features damaged and male effigies (lay and clergy) were more likely to have their noses mutilated than female effigies. This is especially true for clergymen in this sample, who had their noses targeted more often than their hands and arms. Noses therefore seem to be linked to masculine (ecclesiastical) identity by iconoclasts in both periods, but particularly for Period A effigies. The 17th-century iconoclasts seemed to focus predominantly on hands for all three categories of post-Reformation effigy, although some clergy still had their noses attacked.

Female tombs and effigies received fewer sites of damage compared to male lay and clergy exemplar. Archbishop tombs had the highest density of attacks and yet their effigies did not. Post-Reformation deans had the lowest sites of damage for clergy. Clearly effigy gender and status influenced iconoclasts in both periods.

Iconoclasm, Masculinity and Violence

By exploring evidence of the laity's response to iconoclasm, Graves (2008, 48) argues that a sense of 'social betrayal' was felt at all levels of Reformation England as the saints they had entrusted with their wealth, hopes, and spiritual safety, were condemned. She notes how 16th-century 'popular' iconoclasm was undertaken and perpetuated by those who may have felt disenfranchised because of their illiteracy and therefore had no power within the creation and circulation of relevant written discourses: "the treatise, the pamphlet, the sermon, the propaganda image" (Graves, 2008, 48). Conversely, by the mid-17th-century, corporate

reverence for religious images had dissipated because the nation had had time to embrace Protestantism as their new identity (Graves, 2008, 48). Therefore, Graves argues that the feeling of betrayal was no longer a major contributing factor to mid-17th-century iconoclasm. However, Graves (2008, 47) found no difference between the gender, age, or office (clergy or laity) of bodily images receiving hand or head mutilation in either iconoclastic period.

This analysis has suggested nuances may be identified between periods of iconoclasm, and that the gender, office, and location of the effigy were all crucial factors. Tombs available to both Reformation and Puritan iconoclasts (Period A) were targeted proportionally more often and attacked across more sites on the effigial body than those available only to Puritan iconoclasts (Period B). Females had the same body parts attacked but received proportionally fewer sites of damage, and the focus was primarily on their hands. This may reflect a general distaste in early modern masculinity for extensive male-on-female violence, which was no credit to an individual's sense of manhood.

Denastio

Male effigies were not only attacked in more areas than females, but their noses were more often targeted. Graves (2008, 40) cites Groebner (2004) on *denastio* as implying sodomy. Groebner (2004, 73-5) also cites multiple examples of the nose bearing phallic associations in late medieval and early modern texts, and thus its mutilation was considered to be a form of castration; a very attack on manliness and manhood. Men cutting off other men's noses was private retribution for being cuckolded (Groebner, 2004, 82-6). The idea that the density of the cartilage in the tip of the nose would signify virginity in either sex was circulated in the 16th century via Michael's Scrotus' exceptionally popular and widely-read *Liber physionomie*

(Groebner, 2004, 73). Groebner also points to canon law in which "a missing or disfigured nose is listed as grounds for exclusion from ordination to the priesthood." (2004, 75). The emasculating qualities of *denastio* inflicted on effigies of Catholic clergymen by iconoclasts might be seen in this context. There may be subtle references to celibacy or lack of sexual experience amongst the priesthood, and the male iconoclasts were defining their own sense of masculinity in relation to their own sexual power and sexuality. There are also overtones of disempowering the catholic clergy by disbarring them from their own profession by removing or mutilating their noses. In doing so, the effigial body was disconnected from any Catholic/Laudian context, including any surviving or ambiguous imagery which may have survived inside the cathedral.

It could also symbolise the perceived end of the biological and spiritual Catholic legacy since iconoclasts were signalling the impotence of Catholicism and of its adherents. Thus mutilation of male effigies was not simply 'Catholic' versus 'Protestant' but was loaded with complex enactments of masculinity, shame, honour, pride, violence, and sexual prowess.

Damage to Hands

The removal of hands, especially praying hands, was a primary target for iconoclasts as they were an expression of intercession for the dead. Post-Reformation, this was re-narrated as a reflection of the deceased's prayerful life (Llewellyn, 2000, 97-105). Putting this into context, Graves (2008, 47-8) is right to point out that hands had agency. Hands were also the way people touched the physical world around them. If touching is a way of understanding, believing, and acting with intention, then removing their hands was not only judicial punishment (Graves, 2008, 47-8) but also a way of disabling their physical interaction with a new belief system. Not only could they not pray but other ways of creating knowledge and

understanding were denied them. Iconoclasts were not only punishing and humiliating the effigial dead in a legally-defined way, but also preventing them from any further insight, thought, or haptic experience. Cutting of the hands of the effigial dead, denying them the ability to touch, set a conceptual distance between the perceived physical sensuality of Catholic veneration and the disembodied, cerebral, even abstemious, overtones of Protestant practice (Aston, 2003).

Bodily Pain

The emphasis since the 1550 Act had been on mutilation rather than removal of the effigy. This meant the effigial body had to exist within the 'pain' inflicted by iconoclasts. It ensured a body exposed to perpetual suffering. The presence of the mutilated body signified the (absent) body of the mutilator; the perpetrator; the victor. Lying in a state of physical pain, exposed to public view and public touch, announced to present and future visitors that they had been subjugated by another group. Thus the presence of the physical effigy, and the bodiliness of their mutilation, simultaneously communicates the absence of the perpetrator, and the tangibility of the encounter between effigy and iconoclast. In not repairing the damage, the victory of the iconoclast over the effigy was curated through the wounds on the dead. It was also a very public threat to the Royalists of the levels of mutilation and bodily pain that parliamentary soldiers were willing and able to enact.

Perceptions of Iconoclasm

The more intense damage noted on Period A effigies may have been caused by iconoclasts of the Reformation and/or the Puritans. There is currently no way of distinguishing individual periods of iconoclasm enacted on the same effigy as iconoclasts did not necessarily name tombs or specify the type of damage they perpetrated. This is complicated by the exaggerated

accounts by both Puritans, such as Richard Culmer, and Royalist propagandists such as Bruno Ryves.

However, there was a sense of bravado and machismo expressed by Culmer and his cohort when they attacked Canterbury in 1643. Culmer's report is littered with references to his own bravery and his pleasure in horrifying onlookers with the damage he and his men were causing (e.g. Culmer, 1644, 22). Yet his biography, written by his son, "admitted that Culmer had relieved himself in Canterbury Cathedral during the iconoclasm for fear of the crowd outside, which was ready to 'knock out his brains'" (Eales, 2004). Not only was iconoclasm contested by some crowds, but the public display of bravado and religious pride expressed by iconoclasts was, in some cases, a nervous performance in a very tense and public arena. Similarly, the carefully chipped attendants on Period B monuments may be examples of reluctant defacement by the Laudian clergy. Thus the mental and emotional state of iconoclasts, and their own pride and beliefs, may have impacted the degree of damage they enacted, and the way it was later reported.

Conclusion: Masculinity and Defacement

Many streams of early modern masculinity called for adult males to demonstrate their manhood by inflicting pain and scars on the bodies of other men. Parliamentary soldiers stationed in cathedrals had an opportunity to demonstrate their masculinity to fellow soldiers through acts of violence and defacement focussed on the bodies of the dead. Female effigies seem to have received far less damage and it was more focussed on the key body parts (particularly hands) which were the priority for iconoclasts. Male effigies, however, sustained greater and more frequent damage across a wider range of body parts, suggesting the gender

difference recognised in interpersonal violence amongst living males was influencing attacks on gendered effigies.

Moreover, the frequency of attacks on noses, particularly on pre-1560 male effigies, speaks of sexual insults aimed at the assumed celibacy or virginity of the Catholic clergy. This also bore undertones of the male iconoclasts defining their masculinity in terms of cuckolding or usurping the Catholic dead, promoting their own sexual prowess in contrast to their suggestions of sexual impotence through *denastio* of male effigies. The performative nature of bodily violence enacted by men on predominantly male effigies links with the subjugation, humiliation, and punishment aimed by Civil War soldiers at their opponents. Cathedrals, and their mortuaryscapes, were strongholds of traditional patriarchy and tombs legitimised inherited male privileges amongst the upper classes (Lindley, 2007, 13-15).

PART 2: BEYOND ICONOCLASM: GRAVE-ROBBING, THEFT, AND BREAKAGE

17th-century complaints about damage

Further insight into post-Reformation defacement of the dead, and the attitudes of those conducting it, may be revealed by examining accounts of long-term theft and breakage of tombs, and grave-robbing conducted by Parliamentary soldiers stationed at cathedral.

In the hiatus between Reformation and Puritan iconoclasm, Weever decried the “Atheisticall uncleannesse” by those "Beastly and uncleane persons" who "pollute and bedaube the doores and walls of the place where God is to be worshipped, with pisse or some other nastie excrements" (1767 [1631], 163). He mentions multiple inscriptions or posters being placed in church interiors telling visitors not to urinate on the monuments.

In 1646 parliamentary troops defaced Chester's choir, stole the seating for St John's church; broke surviving statuary and stained glass, and beheaded the figures on St Werburgh's shrine, which had survived as fragments embedded into the bishop's throne (Lewis & Thacker, 2005, 197). In the immediate aftermath of the 1642 iconoclasm at Canterbury Cathedral, the Dean and Chapter outlined a catalogue of the damage wrought by the Reformers which included; "many of the goodly monuments of the dead shamefully abused, defaced, rifled, and plundered of their brasses, iron grates, and barres" (quoted in Woodruff & Dean, 1912, 336-7). This was because:

> "generally whatever was moneyworth made prize of and imbezilled; … no better (in respect of those who got and kept possession of it) than a den of thieves, and plunderers, and to make the better way for such invaders to abuse it, the churche's guardians, her fair and strong Gates, betimes turned off their hooks and burned." (quoted in Woodruff & Dean, 1912, 336-7).

A 1662 inventory by Canterbury's Chapter of damage since the 1640s mentions:

> "rude, unhallowed and sacreligious [sic] hands and approaches of a sordid and malignant generation in these licentious times, whose meat and drink is to invade, abuse and violate all that ever may adorn either the house or service of God" (quoted in Gregory, 1995, 212).

Several items had been stolen from tombs at some in the 17th century. At Canterbury, Edward the Black Prince's (d.1376) funeral achievements (artefacts made specifically for his funeral) had been suspended above and beside his tomb in the south aisle of Canterbury cathedral (St John Hope, 1895; see Fig.5.21). Today they are preserved in a glass-faced cabinet on the southern wall opposite his tomb (Fig.5.21). Edward's sword, an original component of his

funeral achievements, was depicted in an anonymous sketch *c.*1600 but by 1613 the sword had gone (Wilson, 1995, 497). Oliver Cromwell was traditionally blamed for stealing the sword but it had been taken long before he came to power in 1653 (Wilson, 1995, 497).

a.

b.

c.

Fig.5.21 Black Prince's Funeral Achievements.

Canterbury cathedral: south ambulatory:

a. The Black Prince's original funeral achievements, now in a glass case on the south wall opposite his tomb.

b. Replica achievements hung above the original tomb

c. The Black Prince's tomb (western side).

Sir Richard Fogge (d.1407), one of the Black Prince's companions, had his wooden shield hung on a pier near his grave in the nave until sometime in the 17th century when it was removed (Wilson, 1995, 498 fn.208). Also at Canterbury cathedral, Canon John Bargrave (d.1680) personally retrieved English slaves from Algeria while avoiding being captured as a slave himself (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 341). Bargrave asked that a shackle from one of the redeemed slaves be placed over his tomb in the style of medieval funerary achievements, but it had "long since disappeared" by 1912 and the tomb is no longer extant (Woodruff & Danks, 1912, 342). If any of these were removed by clergy for safe-keeping, they have never been returned to their tombs.

Stolen Gems from Effigies

Detachable jewels, both real and fake, could ornament medieval metal effigies, such as the Black Prince's effigy at Canterbury, and some stone effigies (Duffy, 2003, 321). The stone(s) along the ridge of Archbishop Hubert Walter's tomb at Canterbury (d.1205) were removed at some point (Fig.5.22: Wilson, 1995, 456 fn. 15). Archbishop Courtenay's effigy (Canterbury: South Ambulatory: d.1396) has holes on the left and right segments of his mitre where metal decoration has been removed; and gem studs missing from his mitre (Fig.5.23). It is possible the metal rusted through and fell off, but given the lack of repair and the history of theft from Canterbury's effigies, it may have been stolen. Dorothea Doderidge's hand (Exeter: Lady Chapel) has a large gouge on the forefinger, possibly where a finger-ring has been removed (Fig.5.24). Lady Holland's effigy (Canterbury: St Michael's Chapel, d.1439) has three vertical lines of three holes each on the left, middle, and right sides of the back of her headgear (Fig.5.25). The bejewelled collar or necklace on her effigy (depicted by Hollar in 1665) was removed sometime in the 17th-18th centuries and the attachment holes are visible

(Duffy, 2003, 321). The gouges in her headgear probably mean decorative gems have been removed from there as well.

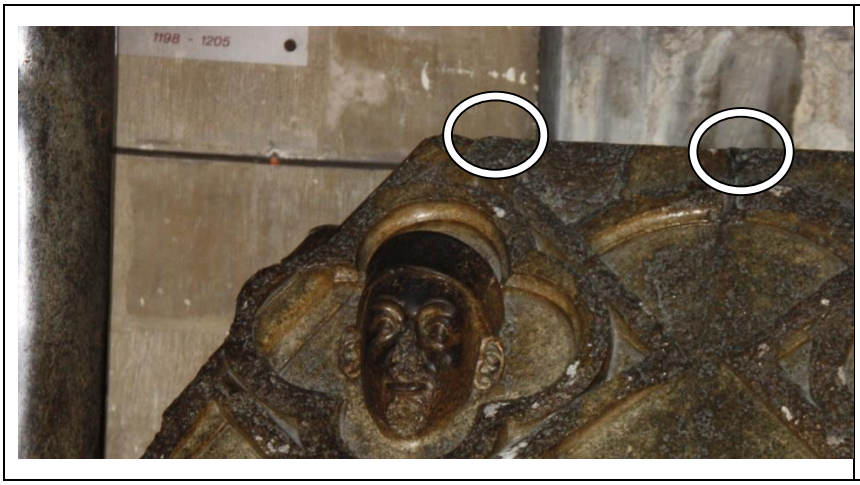
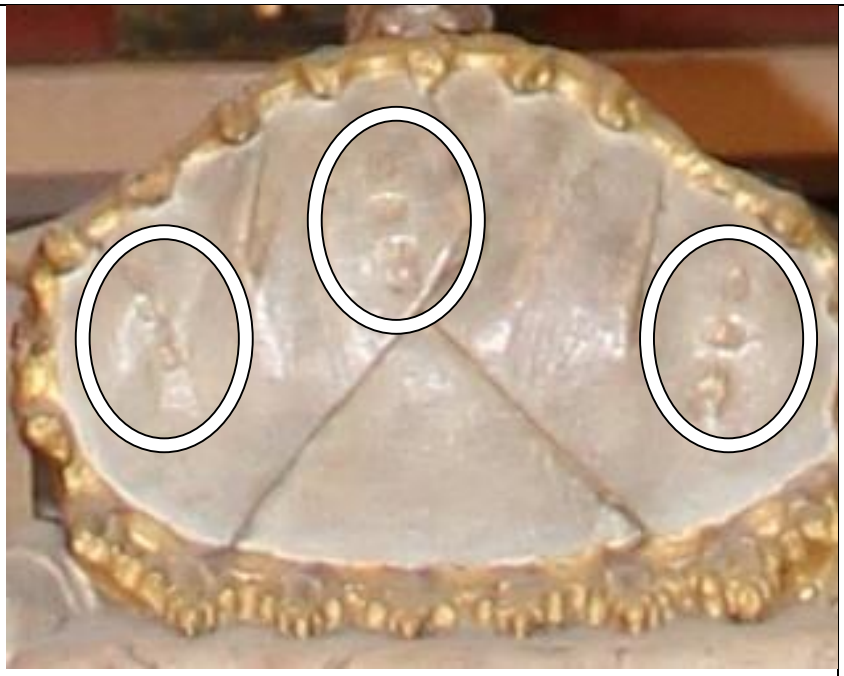


Fig.5.22 Canterbury Cathedral: Archbishop Hubert Walter's tomb is reportedly missing gemstones from its ridge (circled).

Fig.5.23 Canterbury Cathedral: Archbishop Courtenay's mitre has missing decoration

Fig.5.24 Exeter Cathedral: The gouge on Dorothea Doderidge's hand may be a missing gemstone from a finger-ring.



a.

b.

Fig.5.25 Lady Holland (Canterbury: St Michael's Chapel d.1439).

a. The back of her headgear seems to have missing decoration, possibly the gem-studs seen on the front of her headgear (see b.)

b. Scar across her throat from the reported missing collar

Stolen Brasses and Brass clipping

The theft of memorial brasses from churches and cathedrals in England is well attested from the Reformation onwards (e.g. Norris & Page-Phillips, 1987; Stuchfield, 2002). Monumental brasses predominantly survive in churches rather than cathedrals, mainly because the latter were targeted and stripped of brass under the Reformation and in following centuries (Hudson, 1978, 105). Looted brass was commonly melted down (Hudson, 1978, 105).

At Canterbury cathedral the brass fillet on Archbishop Meopham's tomb had been removed by *c.*1600 (Wilson, 1995, 466 fn.62). Archbishop Wittelsey's monument in Canterbury's nave, destroyed in 1787, lost its brass before 1636 (Wilson, 1995, 471 fn89). By 1640 brasses were missing from the monuments of archbishops Arundel, Warham and Sudbury (Somner, 1640, 265, 268, 272; Wilson, 1995, 472 fn. 265).

Monumental brasses which were not wholly removed could also be clipped while *in situ*. At St Albans, the lower half of what has been attributed to the brass of William Albon (d.1476) has potential clipping marks along the waistband (Fig.5.26). The monumental floor brass of Thomas de la Mare (d.1396), also in the north choir aisle, is badly damaged but the north-east corner and a section of the east edge appear to have been clipped as well (Fig.5.27). By 1897 it was kept in Wheathampstead's chapel to prevent it being stolen (Liddell, 1897, 27).

a.

b.

Fig.5.26 St Albans Cathedral: (north choir/presbytery aisle). a. Abbot De La Mare's brass (facing west). The corner appears to have been clipped around the quatrefoil. b. detail of clipped corner

a.

b

Fig.5.27 Ripon Cathedral

a. Christopher Wyvill's memorial is heavily worn on the lower left corner and bears a tiny clip (south choir aisle).

b. Edward Hodgson's clipped memorial (south nave aisle).

Grave-Robbing

Items were also stolen from burials as well as the monuments. While some graves were strategically exhumed under Tudor Reforms by senior clergymen, the laity were not involved in these politically, doctrinally, and personally motivated humiliations of the influential dead (Lindley, 2007, 23). The ransacking and looting of graves by Puritan reformers and Parliamentary soldiers in the 1640s was, however, unprecedented (Spraggon, 2003, 57). Evidence of this can be traced through documentary and excavated evidence at Canterbury and Exeter cathedrals.

Richard Symonds, a horse office in the Royalist Army and an antiquarian, visited Exeter Cathedral in Sept 1644 (reproduced in Erskine, Hope & Lloyd, 1988, 59). He reported that in 1642; “the rebells... digged up a monument in the south chappel where Bp. Carye [Bishop Carey, d.1626] lies and stole a silver chalice from the coffin” (in Erskine, Hope & Lloyd, 1988, 59: see Fig.5.28). Bishop Brantygham’s burial in Exeter’s nave had already been disturbed when it was opened in 1832: his chalice and ring had been stolen and the grave backfilled with earth and tiles (Oliver, 1861, 92). The burial’s disarray was blamed on soldiers who had used the nave as a guard-house in 1646 (Oliver, 1861, 215-6).

The lead coffins of the Courtenays were opened in 1833 (Fig.5.29), and these had also been ransacked and the bones lay scattered inside the coffins (Oliver, 1861, 215). Twenty years later, Exeter’s Prebendary John Reynolds delivered a sermon in July 1684 saying: "many of us have seen not only the monuments of the dead, but even the very ashes and bones of some, disturbed and violated.” (reprinted in Oliver, 1861, 215-6).

Fig.5.28. Exeter Cathedral: Bishop Carey's tomb (d.1626) which was ransacked in 1642.

Fig.5.29. Exeter Cathedral: The Courtenay tomb (1377/1391). Originally located in the south nave aisle.

Extensive damage wrought upon burials in Canterbury's nave has been dated to the 1640s-1650s by clay pipes and coins found in their backfills (Blockley et al., 1997, 40). The 14th and 15th-century stone-lined graves of Archbishops Islip, Wittelsey, Arundel; Priors Chillenden, Wodnesbergh and Salisbury, and Bishop Buckingham (Oxford diocese) had been robbed in the 1640s-1650s (Blockley et al., 1997, 7). The chalice, cope and crosier had also been removed from Richard of Dover's sarcophagus in the nave at some point in the 17th century (Blockley et al., 1997, 30).

Over 100 other graves were excavated from Canterbury's nave east end and the south-west transept, all of which had also been heavily robbed in the 17th century (Blockley et al., 1997, 40). Several clearance pits had stones arranged in the base, surrounding clusters of dumped disarticulated human bone (Blockley et al., 1997, 42). Five such pits were examined: one had a minimum of 11 individuals, and the other four had between minimums of 2-6 individuals, indicating that re-deposition of the exhumed remains inside the cathedral was not a priority and most skeletal material had been discarded elsewhere (Blockley et al., 1997, 42). These clearance pits may represent what was left strewn around the cathedral after the soldiers had left, although this is inconclusive.

The effort required to access these burials indicates the determination of these soldiers to rob the graves. Effigy tombs had to be cracked opened or moved; floor-slabs had to be heaved open and shifted to one side or propped up; lead coffins needed to be cut open or sawn through, and then the robbers had to be willing to rifle through the decaying or skeletal material within to find items worth stealing. In some cases, as at Canterbury, the bones were completely evacuated and thrown away elsewhere with some residual bones dumped in

clearance pits. In other cases, as at Exeter, the bones were left in disarray but (eventually) reburied.

Summary

Excavations in the nave and south-west transept at Canterbury Cathedral revealed some burials were stripped of artefacts but reburied, while others were completely emptied and the residual bones (eventually) buried in clearance pits. Tombs were opened, lead coffins sliced through, and bodies rifled in the hunt for grave-goods worth selling. Whether the exhumed human remains were re-buried, dumped in clearance pits, or disposed of elsewhere seems to have depended on the cohort of soldiers.

Although only a few of these thefts can be dated, the dates of the monuments indicate that actions such as brass clipping were going on long after the 1640s when cathedrals were no longer vulnerable to iconoclasm. Theft did not cease altogether, however: as recently as 1987 a stone effigy head was stolen from St Andrew's chapel in Canterbury cathedral (Wilson, 1995, 507 and fn.248).

Conclusion: Theft, Grave-Robbing, and Breakage

A separate consideration of wider social reforms of the 18th and 19th centuries may illuminate how the relationship between the laity and the cathedral mortuaryscape shifted, but it is beyond the scope of this chapter. What is important is to acknowledge the wide variety of thefts and damage being conducted by cathedral visitors which prefaced and followed periods of 16th and 17th century iconoclasm. Individual iconoclasts, local people, visitors, and/or soldiers may have been to blame for these thefts.

Stealing items from tombs or taking human remains ascribed to saints was not uncommon in pre-Reformation churches (Geary, 1992). It was conducted by clergy and laity alike, for personal veneration, for financial gain, or to establish a spin-off of a saint's cult at a different religious foundation (Geary, 1992). Without documentary evidence it is difficult to date extant evidence of loss or breakage. It cannot be assumed to be the work of iconoclasts, as taking and breaking from tombs pre-dated the Reformation and continued long after the 1640s-1650s. However, church monuments were particularly vulnerable to damage following the removal of shrines and their associated security measures. The deliberate ruination of tombs by iconoclasts meant any further damage by individuals would probably be harder to notice.

The concept and terminology of 'grave-robbing' has been increasingly interrogated by burial archaeologists studying early medieval cemeteries (e.g. Klevnäs, 2007; 2013; 2015; Van Haperen; 2010; Aspöck, 2011; Aspöck & Klevnäs, 2011/2012; Lund, 2013). The general consensus is that 'grave-robbing' is an inadequate and inaccurate term, oversimplifying a far more complex process of post-burial mortuary practices. For example, Klevnäs' (2010) emphasised how retrieval of artefacts from graves could reflect families recovering grave-goods merely used as props during funerals which had emotional, historic, and/or financial value. Graves were also evacuated either to rebury pagan dead in a Christian context or to cleanse the site of pre-Christian remains (Klevnäs, 2015).

Van Haperen (2010) argues that traditional disregard of early medieval grave disturbances or its simple dismissal as (incompetent) grave robbery, has been perpetuated by an artificial post-Enlightenment dichotomy of 'practical/rational' versus 'ritual/irrational' action. In this framework, grave ransacking has been approached as an economically motivated event, i.e. robbery (Van Harperen, 2010, 4-6). She also points to modern Western sensibilities about

disturbing the peace of the dead, clouding interpretations and generating assumptions (Van Haperen, 2010, 16-17).

In the context of 17th-century cathedrals, graves were deliberately ransacked by soldiers looking for artefacts to keep or sell. The financial benefit of this cannot be ignored. However, it would be naive to perceive this as purely pragmatic or the sole motive (Van Haperen, 2010, 4-6) since grave-robbing was part of a range of defacing acts centred on the buried and representational dead. Protestant parliamentary soldiers also sought to humiliate the Catholic dead who were the potential forbears of their 'Catholic' Royalist enemies. Stealing from their enemies' ancestors meant the Parliamentarian soldiers were cutting-off the Royalists from their own past. In this regard, the Civil War extended to the dead as well as the living.

The rise of curiosity cabinets in early modern Europe, in which private collections of disparate but 'interesting' pieces of material culture were stored and discussed by the upper (male) classes (Impey & MacGregor, 1985), may have also influenced the desire to retrieve pieces from tombs, such as funeral achievements, metal decorations, gemstones, and pieces of sculpture. Thus theft and breakage was not necessarily an act of the desperate poor for re-sale (potentially to collectors) but may also have been conducted by gentlemen collectors themselves. This does not negate the venerative or folkloric/magico-religious motivations for taking pieces of the dead (Walsham, 2010). It simply enlarges the range of disparate motives behind this complex practice, which (with the exception of stolen brasses) is poorly understood in post-Reformation churches.

PART 3: HISTORIC GRAFFITI AT THE FIVE CATHEDRALS

Graffiti Analysis

The final part of this chapter focuses on historic graffiti found on mortuary monuments. Historic graffiti are common but not ubiquitous in churches interiors (see Pritchard, 1967) and this is also true of mortuary monuments. Only graffiti found on mortuary monuments has been recorded and discussed in order to highlight the role of graffiti in the mortuaryscape, rather than provide a general study of historic church graffiti (see review below). Therefore, evidence on walls, doorways, rooftops etc. has not been included as it was beyond the practical and discursive remit of this study. Rather, this section addresses how graffiti relates to the other forms of defacement under discussion, and as a possible method for marking social territory in cathedral mortuaryscapes.

In this sample, graffiti were predominantly found on tombs at Canterbury and Exeter, with occasional exemplar from Chester, Ripon, and the shrine of St Amphibalus at St Albans. It was recorded using high resolution digital photography which was often able to capture what could not be seen by the naked eye. Because of the idiosyncratic nature of graffiti, recording was not systematic but discovery-led. Subsequently, this chapter offers a suggestive rather than exhaustive survey, although every available monument was repeatedly photographed and the images scrutinised for graffiti. The illegibility of the graffiti means individual graffito were not tabulated but all relevant images of the palimpsests and examples are included in this chapter.

Historic Graffiti Studies

Graffiti could be inscribed by anyone inside churches, and this chapter is not suggesting that it was a purely male or adult pastime. Nor was it limited to the 16th and 17th centuries (see

Pritchard, 1967; Fleming, 2001; Champion, 2012). It does, however, explore an early modern stereotype of graffiti inside cathedrals as a 'gentlemanly' practice. Rather than focussing on the content of the graffiti (most of which is self-explanatory or unrecoverable), this chapter situates it for the first time amongst other contemporaneous acts of tomb disintegration. Graffiti is explored as part of a suite of social practices which appropriated the dead for public performances by individuals and groups to create and sustain masculine identities.

Historic Graffiti as Social Practice

Iconoclasm has also yet to be discussed in tandem with the rise of graffiti on mortuary monuments, particularly effigies, from the late 16th century onwards (see below). Yet while iconoclasm has been considered a State-led practice, graffiti has been treated as an ephemeral, peripheral, and casual behaviour (e.g. Daniell, 2011, 468). This chapter provides a first attempt at such a holistic understanding of graffiti within a spectrum of damage and defacement aimed at the dead.

However, Fleming (2001, 9) has noted how important graffiti became for the increasingly literate society of early modern England which was paper-short. This meant a variety of media were appropriated for writing and drawing on, not only incising into stone but using chalk, charcoal, smoke marks, soot and even faeces (Fleming, 2001, 34; Cody, 2003, 96). Since graffiti was not necessarily permanent and could be erased or whitewashed, it occurred on the lintels, door jambs, fireplaces, walls, and domestic wares of homes (Fleming, 2001, 9-10, 29-72, 152-8). Surfaces could also be covered with paper, posters, newspaper cuttings and pamphlets as part of graffiti culture, as well as using graffiti to mark personal portable property, mark seasons, make tallies, and signpost buildings (Cody, 2003, 96). Thus, as Fleming (2001) argues, graffiti was not an inherently transgressive act but part of a wider

culture of expression and commentary. Gordon (2002) has since qualified this by highlighting examples of libellous graffiti on the external surfaces of early modern public buildings. Graffiti in early modern England was therefore a mode of expression which intersected with the construction and negotiation of group identities, as well as personal expressions and mnemonic devices.

Church Graffiti

Mortuary monuments, while included in surveys of graffiti found in churches (e.g. Pritchard, 1967; Jones-Barker, 1981; Champion, 2012), have not yet been singled out for specific attention. Graffiti on the walls of cathedrals have been recorded, including Glasgow Cathedral's chapter house (Whalley, 2007, 101); the exterior of Canterbury Cathedral (M. Sparks Pers. Comm.); the refectory at Chester Cathedral (Fry, 2009, 45); and the internal walls of St Albans Cathedral (Rose et al., 1998; O'Keefe, 2001). Monuments with historic graffiti inside Canterbury, Chester, and St Albans have yet to be addressed. The paucity of pre-19th century stone monuments in St Albans means any evidence of early modern graffiti on tombs has been removed. However, both Canterbury and Exeter cathedrals provide a range of examples and Chester Cathedral has examples of historic graffiti on two of its oldest wall memorials from the late 16th and early 17th centuries (see below).

However, the graffiti present on mortuary monuments within these cathedrals has yet to be fully appraised, compared, and discussed within a broader context of historic defacement of the dead and their monuments. This study therefore breaks with the traditional agenda of recording and decoding individual graffito (e.g. Pritchard, 1967; Champion, 2012). Instead, the focus is on graffiti on mortuary monuments as additional evidence of the destruction and curation of various memorials as generations have scratched, incised, gouged, and even

chiselled graffito on and around their surfaces. Graffiti therefore sits alongside other destructive and curatorial responses to inherited memorials outlined in this section; brass cutting, tokenism (breaking off pieces of memorials to take away), iconoclasm, relocation, reuse, and obliteration.

Graffiti Culture

Not all the cathedrals necessarily had a graffiti culture. It has already been demonstrated from surveys of medieval graffiti on parish church fabric in Southern England that some churches could have almost a complete absence of graffiti and others within a few miles' radius, with contemporary features, could be heavily inscribed (Pritchard, 1967). In these five cathedrals, the clearance of medieval and early modern monuments from Chester, Ripon, and St Alban's means any potential historic graffiti on tombs is heavily underrepresented. Graffiti has been found on the internal walls of Chester and St Albans, and at least one, if not two of the oldest wall memorials at Chester have graffiti as well. This suggests these cathedrals may have also once had certain areas or tombs singled out for palimpsests of graffiti, as at Canterbury and Exeter. At Ripon, very little graffiti have been noted although the general lack of scholarship on the fabric of this cathedral beyond its Anglo-Saxon crypt, plus restoration work (especially the whitewashing of the crypt) and the general lack of pre-18th century monuments means it may be equally under-representative of its original graffiti culture. However, the strong pro-Catholic ethos of Ripon's clergy and congregation in the aftermath of the Reformation may have also diluted interest in defacing monuments with graffiti.

Although St Albans Cathedral has no surviving tombs from this period, there is explicit Civil War graffiti in its soft Totternhoe stone features (Peers & Page, 1902, 505). Royalist graffiti dated 1643 was etched into the back of Wallingford's screen in the feretory (Peers & Page,

1902, 505). On the back part of the altar-screen, near the left-hand side of the door, is prisoner graffiti by a soldier captured by Cromwells party which reads “Hugh Lewis, / Souldier in his Majesty's army, / taken prisoner at Ravensfield, / Northamptonshire / Ser. Ye____ Day June, 1645.” (St Albans, 1815, 125-6).

However, there is no reason to assume graffiti from this period was all incised by soldiers stationed in cathedrals. Indeed, graffiti on the monuments in this dataset pre-dates the 1640s. Thomas Dekker’s *The Gull’s Hornbook* (1609), a popular and widely-circulated ‘handbook’, satirised the pretentious behaviour of young gallants (‘gulls’) in London. Dekker (1609, 39-47) devoted a chapter to visiting St Paul’s cathedral, mocking the loud, obnoxious flamboyance of male visitors who attempted to garner attention from the crowds and the tricks they used to appear richer and more educated than they actually were.

His comments, although satirical, were recognisable to the reader since the truth spoken in jest resonated with the public. His *Hornbook* thus provides a useful, if slightly exaggerated, commentary on late 16th and early 17th-century attitudes to cathedral interiors. The narrator begins by encouraging the gallants to treat the central nave aisle of St Paul’s as his own ‘gallery’, parading up and down four times, wearing his most fashionable clothes, flicking open his cape to reveal his expensive lining, and greeting his contemporaries on casual first name terms as if he knew them (Dekker, 1609, 40-1).

Dekker’s sarcastic instructions for visitors from the country, lacking the London gentleman’s ennuii with the cathedral, should climb the steeple where:

> “I would desire you to draw your knife, and grave your name, or for want of a name, the mark you clap on your sheep, in great characters on the [roof] leads, by a number

> of your brethren, both citizens and country gentlemen: and so you shall be sure to have your name lie on a coffin of lead, when yourself shall be wrapped up in a winding-sheet: and indeed the top of [St] Paul's contains more names than Stow's Chronicle." (Dekker, 1609, 46).

Both writing graffiti and reading epitaphs were signs of literacy, and even if the writer/reader was not wholly literate, they could fake it to create an impression of a gentlemanly education. This may go some way in explaining some of the repetitive formulae, odd symbols, incomprehensible and back-to-front letters, and random lines and scratches on many of the graffitied tombs. It is suggestive of pretentious yet (semi-)illiterate visitors simply copying pre-existing graffiti, carving symbols from their professions, or drawing lines and hatches in a pretence of 'writing'. Therefore, the content of such graffiti was not meaningful in content for these visitors per se, but held significance as a performative act to suggest a status and education they did not have.

Dekker patronisingly instructs the stereotypically gauche 'northern gentleman', the target of much his satire, to choose the socially-appropriate entrance to the cathedral at the right time: "And first observe your doors of entrance, and your exit; not much unlike the players at the theatres; […] If you prove to be a northern gentleman, I would wish you to pass through the north door, more often than any of the other; and so, according to your countries, take note of your entrances. […] Be circumspect and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving-man's log, and approach not within five fathom of that pillar; but bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the church may appear to be yours;" (Dekker, 1609, 40).

Graffiti and Elevation: Canterbury

Although Dekker may have been patronising the 'northern gentlemen' by encouraging him to enter through a less grand entrance, local gallants and regular visitors may have graffitied certain pillars to mark as their territory. At Canterbury Cathedral, the south-western, western, and northern entrances to the nave are heavily graffitied with contemporary dates and handwriting styles, suggesting some importance rested on marking these entrances (Fig.5.30-5.31). The densest graffiti appear on the 1st-3rd pillars east, in the south nave. Until 1787 these pillars had the tombs of Archbishop Wittelsey (Nave South: 2nd and 3rd pillars from east: d.1374) and William Lovelace (Nave South: 1st and 2nd pillars from east: d.1576) between them (Fig.5.30) (Hasted, 1800, 383-424).

The pillars immediately opposite the north nave entrance and the current south-west entrance also bear early modern graffiti (Fig.5.31), suggesting visitors were also targeting the pillars nearest the portals as well. Demarcating pillars with graffiti, at least in the 17th century, may have been a way for certain members of society to mark their status by selecting a particular pillar to graffiti. The graffiti on the back wall of Bartlett's tomb can only be seen up close, standing immediately in front of it, with a raking light over the surface.

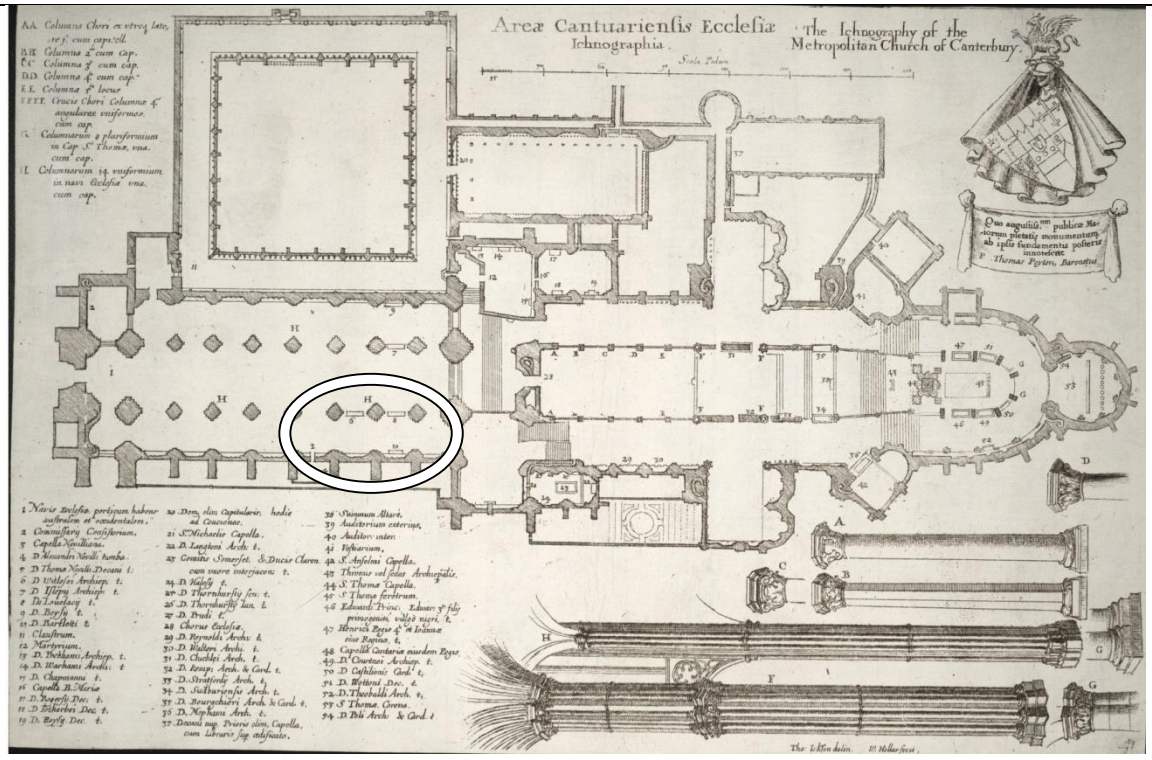
In terms of elevation, graffiti can appear at a variety of heights. In the cathedrals surveyed for this study, graffiti were rarely found very low down on walls or pillars and rarely ever on the lower plinth of tombs. The majority of graffiti recorded was at waist, chest or head height. However, there were also many examples of graffiti extremely high up on walls and pillars, and on equally hard-to-reach areas of tombs, some of which rise above shoulder-height. This clearly indicates that additional apparatus or help must have been required to reach some of these areas. In some cases, it seems graffitists stood or sat on tombs to reach the pillars either

side of it (as found at Canterbury cathedral nave) or the edges of the screen overarching it (as at Exeter cathedral).

This could potentially have extended to certain tombs, as with ‘Duke Humphrey’s’ at St Paul’s where the local fashionable men would all meet to gossip, exchange news, views, and fashion tips all afternoon (Dekker, 1609, 42-4). The tomb actually belonged to Sir John Beauchamp (d.1374) but by the 17th century at least had become confused with Duke Humphrey of Gloucester’s tomb at St Albans (Benham, 1902, 15), now since demolished. Dekker (1609, 44) (semi-) jokingly instructs the gallant to hide his tailor behind a cathedral pillar, where he can spy on all the most fashionable men gathered around Duke Humphrey’s tomb at St Paul’s.

John Stow recounts two traditions he was aware of in *Survey of London* related to Duke Humphrey’s tomb, which was mistakenly attributed to Sir John Beauchamp's tomb (d.1358) in the south nave aisle at St Paul’s Cathedral, known as 'Duke Humphrey's walk' (Stow, 1908 [1603], 335; also Weever, 1767 [1631], 162; Dugdale, (1818 [1658], 107). Masters could punish their servants by sending them to Beauchamp's tomb at St Paul’s (thinking it was a second tomb of the Duke's), and from there, sending them to the real tomb at St Albans. These people were termed 'servants of Duke Humphrey'. How exactly this was a punishment is not made clear.

a.



b.

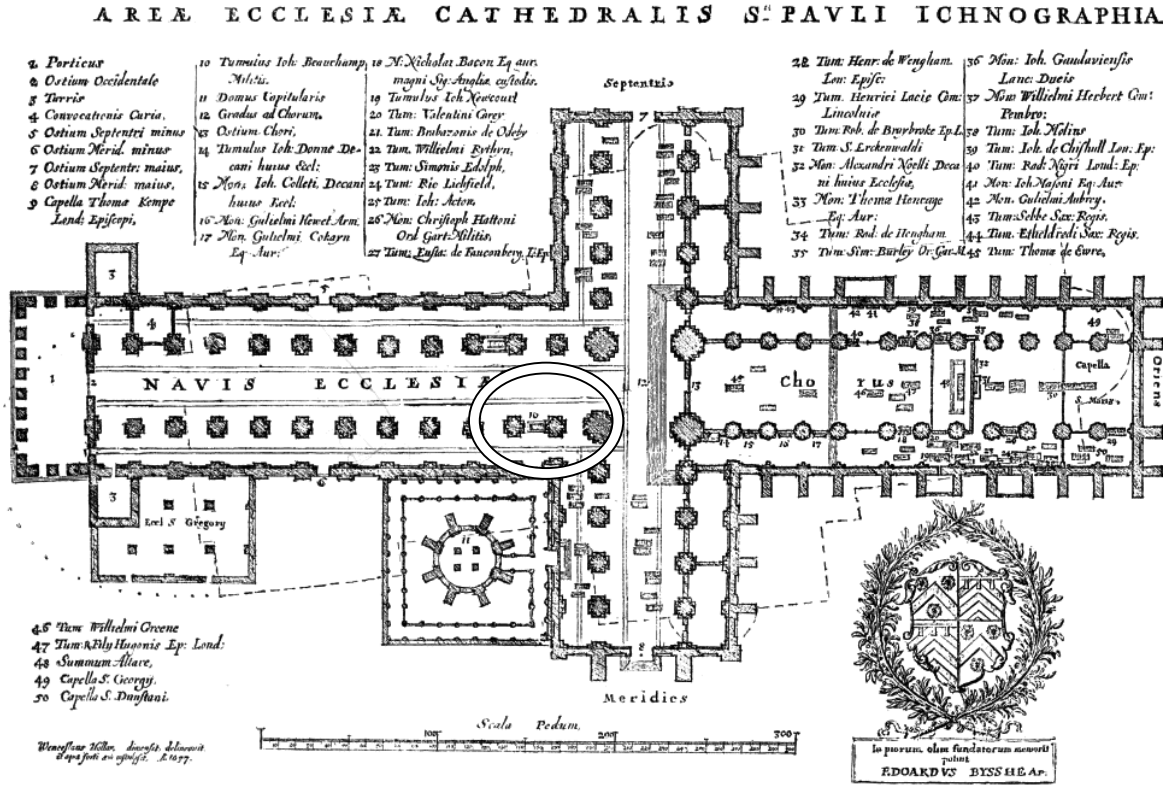


Fig.5.30 Hollar's 17th century ichnographies: a. Canterbury b. St Paul's Cathedrals (University of Toronto Digital Hollar Collection, n.d.). The locations of Wittelsey, Lovelace and Bartlett (Canterbury) and Beauchamp/Duke Humphrey (St Paul's) are circled.

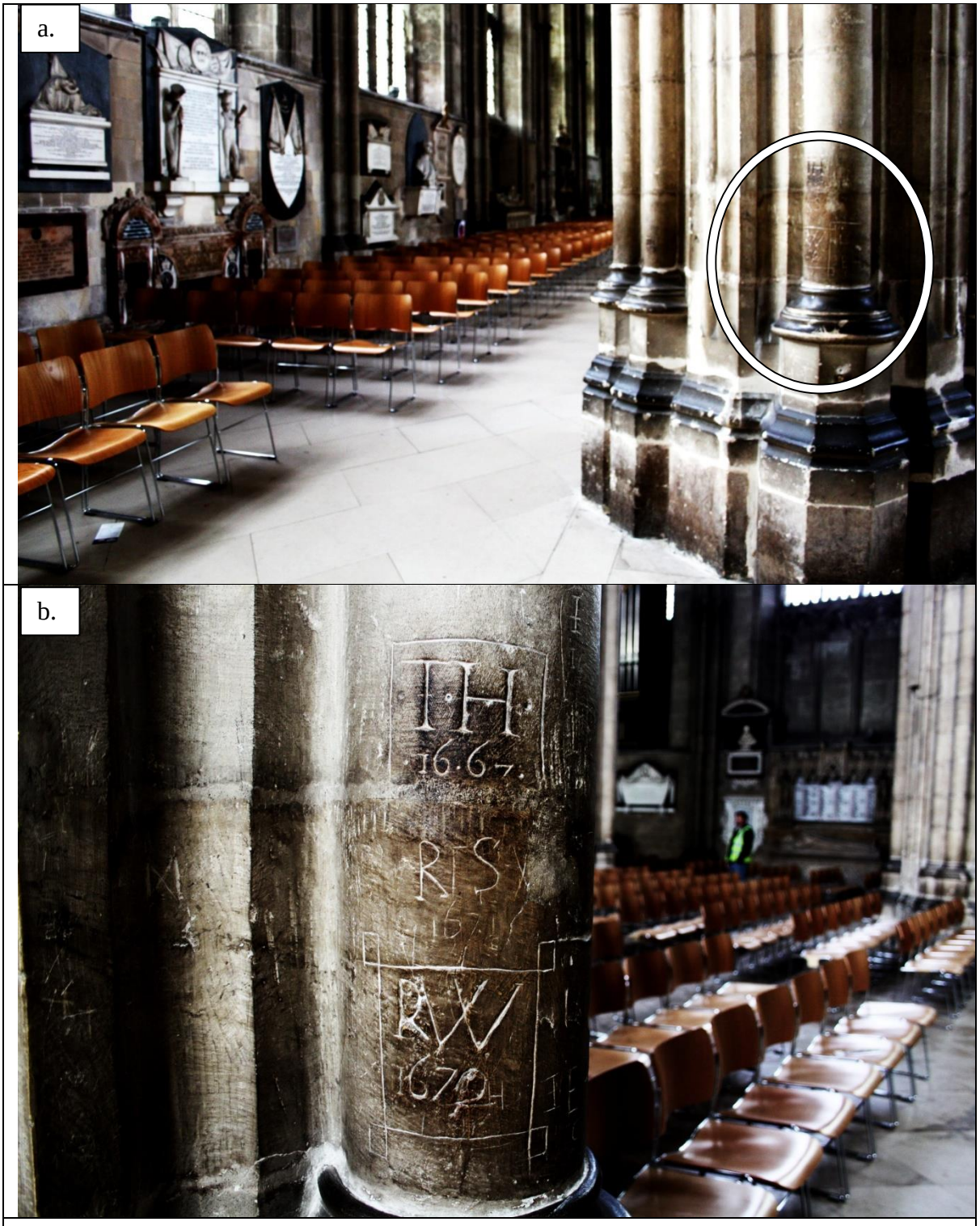


Fig.5.31. Canterbury Cathedral: a. graffitied pillar in the South Nave aisle **(**east end) which bookended the lost tomb of Archbishop Wittelsey (Whittlesey; d.1374). It had been removed by 1787; b. detail of the 17th century graffiti on this pillar.

Other servants would meet at Beauchamp's tomb on St Andrew's Day (30th November) in the morning for a solemn breakfast or dinner in which they would style themselves 'servants of Duke Humphrey' and 'hold diversity of offices under Duke Humphrey' (Stow, 1908 [1603], 335). Stow offers no further information on this confusing event. In a footnote he continues that on May Day, tankard bearers, watermen and others of that ilk would arrive at Beauchamp's tomb early in the morning 'have delivered serviceable presentation at the same Monument, by strewing Herbs and sprinkling fair Water on it as in duty of Servants and according to the degrees and charges in office' (Stow, 1908 [1603], 335; Wright, 1887, 110).

Dugdale (1818 [1658], 107) mentions that to 'Dine with Duke Humphrey' became a popular London saying, where those who had been unable to get an invite to dinner would loiter by Beauchamp's tomb (mistakenly believed, or at least called 'Duke Humphrey's tomb'), in the hope of being noticed and invited elsewhere. Dugdale and Stow both knew the real tomb was at St Albans. Buckler and Buckler (1847, 147) noted graffiti around Duke Humphrey's tomb at St Albans:

> "generally below the level of the seats, and the figures often so well imagined as to be worthy of preservation. Cyphers occasionally appear; but the favourite objects were the cross, the triangle, and the circle, those upon which more time was bestowed, being complicated in an ingenious manner" (Buckler & Buckler, 1847, 147

Graffiti on certain tombs may represent popular meeting places for certain of these groups, if the activity at St Paul's cathedral bears any comparison. Indeed, the position of the Beauchamp/'Humphrey' tomb at St Paul's was between the 1st and 2nd pillars (from the east) in the south nave aisle (Hollar ichnography Fig.5.30). This was the same position as the lost tombs of Wittelsey and Lovelace at Canterbury, and the remaining pillars which flanked

these tombs are well graffitied, as is Robert Berkeley's tomb which stands opposite them since it was only built in 1614 (Figs 5.32-5.35).

Fig.5.32 Canterbury Cathedral: a. + b. Robert Berkeley's tomb (d.1614), South nave aisle. c. + d. Graffiti on the back wall of the monument. Notice how difficult it is to see, even in different lights and standing close by.

Fig.5.33. Canterbury Cathedral: Robert Berkeley's tomb (d.1614). South nave aisle. Graffiti on the back wall of the monument.

Fig.5.34. Canterbury Cathedral: Graffiti on the back wall of Robert Berkeley's monument.

Fig.5.35. Canterbury Cathedral: Graffiti on the back wall of Robert Berkeley's monument

The graffiti on Berkeley's tomb is dense but only visible if standing immediately in front of it with raking light across it. It is not noticeable at all from even a short distance away, which indicates that graffitists have sought this tomb out to inscribe. It may also explain why a lot of the graffiti intercuts and overlaps because it is difficult to see what is already there. This also suggests that the act of graffiti was as important as leaving a mark, since the mark is very difficult to see without close inspection. The proximity of this tomb to the graffitied pillars which once flanked the archbishop's tombs mentioned above may mean it was part of an assemblage of tombs which may have attracted certain groups or gatherings.

Given the relatively close proximity of Canterbury and London and the equal magnificence and gravitas these cathedrals were held in, it would be reasonable to assume that these two tombs at Canterbury may have also become the focus of social gatherings, copying or evolving alongside the trend at Beauchamp/'Humphrey's' tomb at St Paul's. Thus the graffiti-culture in cathedrals may have been a method of portioning out spaces amongst certain (male) lay groups.

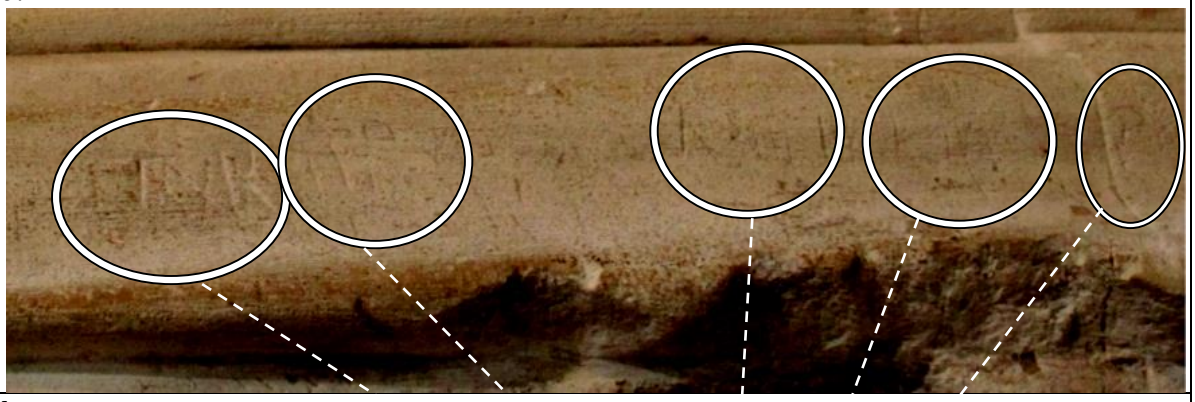
Graffiti on Monuments

Chester's two oldest surviving wall memorials, to Gerrarde Knight (Chester: South Transept: south: d.1581) and to Thomas Greene and his two wives (Chester: Crossing: South: d. 1602), both have historic graffiti (Fig.5.36). At Ripon cathedral the medieval double-effigy tomb to Thomas and Dionisia Markenfield is the only monument with observable graffiti (North transept: d.1398). Most of Dionisia's effigy has been destroyed but her surviving skirt has single initials engraved on it: W, M, R, and W or VV (Fig.5.37). There is also amongst the illegible graffiti a double initial '[...] R' and a word possibly beginning 'Chur..' (Fig.5.37). Thomas' effigy has 'Gb' etched below his belt; 'IR' on his sword decoration; and 'IN' above

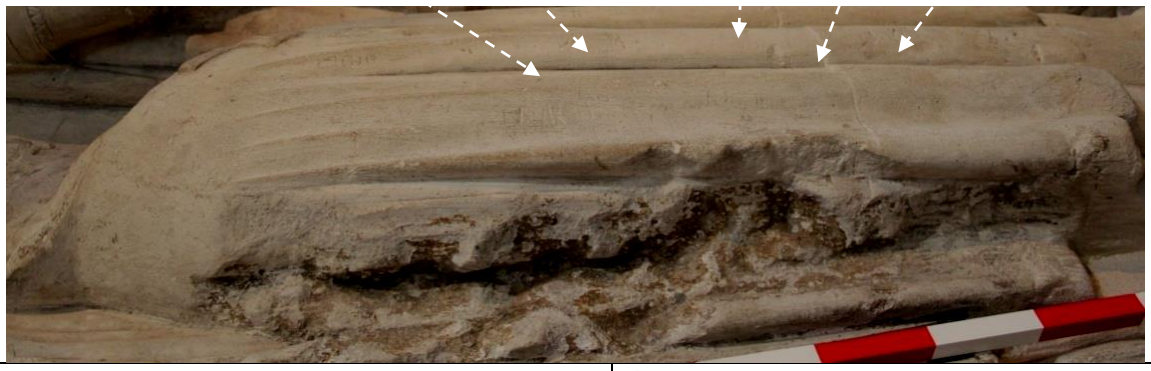
the decoration on the hilt (Fig.5.37). Although no dates are visible, they are comparable in lettering style to early modern graffiti noted elsewhere.

Fig.5.36. Chester Cathedral: a. Graffiti on Gerrarde Knight (d.1581) memorial; b. Gerrarde Knighte memorial; c. graffiti on Thomas Greene (d.1602) memorial; d. Thomas Greene memorial

a.



b.



c.

d.

e.

Fig.5.37. Ripon Cathedral: Thomas & Dionisia Markenfield: north transept: (d.1398). a. + b. graffiti on Dionisia's skirt (south side); c. + d. graffiti above Thomas' belt; e. The Markenfield tomb.

Graffiti at Exeter is numerous and dense on both the cathedral fabric and its mortuary monuments. Thirteen tombs have graffiti, ranging from the extensive palimpsests on Harvey's chest tomb (see Fig.5.42: Exeter: North Choir: north: d.1564) and Bishop Stafford (see Figs. 5.38-5.41: Exeter: Lady Chapel: north: d. 1419). The dated graffiti on Bishop Stafford's tomb appears soon after the Reformation, in the late 16th century (also noted by Pevsner & Metcalf, 1985a, 120). The soft alabaster is easy to graffiti, and the dark staining which appears inside the etching makes it legible against the white stone.

The earliest identifiable dated graffiti on Stafford is 1616, graffitied at least three times; twice on Stafford's southern side in a cartouche on the southern attendant's body next to Stafford's head and again on his chest above his hands 'MS [?] / 16[1]6' (Fig.5.38). On Stafford's north side are various mid-late 17th century dates, including 1637 on the tomb edge, and others from the 1660s and 1680s (Fig.5.39). The left side of Stafford's face has extensive lines etched over each other and the cartouches of initials and the folds of his robes are a dense palimpsest of text, because the folds offer long, straight, flat planes for longer words (Fig.5.39). He also has a long but shallow slash right across his throat and his right eye (Fig.5.40) blurring the line between iconoclasm and graffiti. The gouges around his body and face also suggest possible gunshot or a separate type of defacement (Fig.5.41).

a.

b.

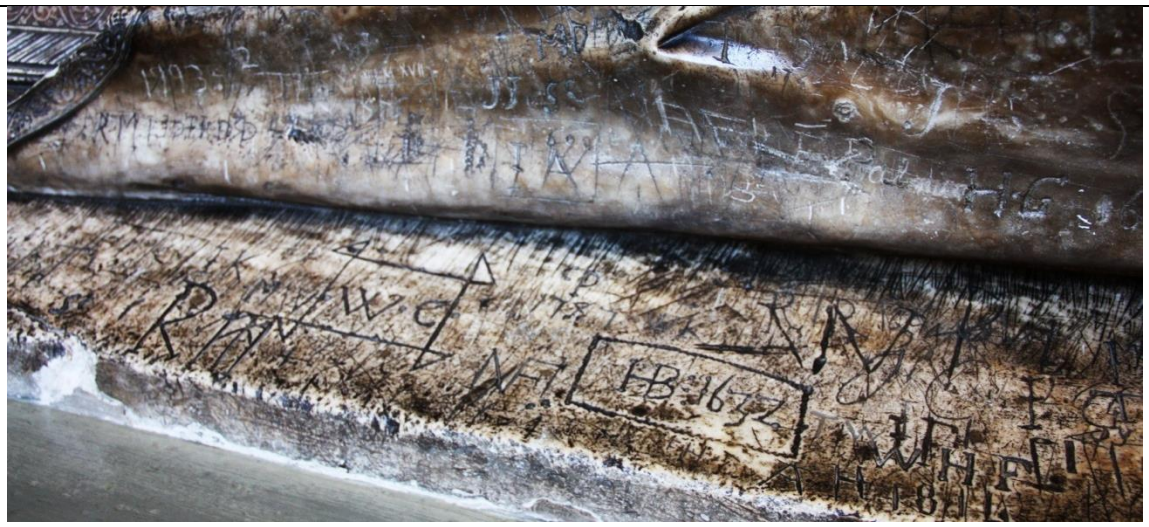
c.

Fig.5.38. Exeter Cathedral: historic graffiti on Bishop Stafford: Lady Chapel: (d. 1419);

a. + b. north side; c. south side with ‘MS [?] / 16[1]6’ circled.

Fig. 5.39 Bishop Stafford (Exeter: Lady Chapel: d. 1419). Graffiti on lower folds of his vestments (south side of tomb).

a.



b.

Fig.5.40 Bishop Stafford (Exeter: Lady Chapel: d. 1419) a. + b. graffiti on plinth and effigy; c. slash on eye and across throat; d. effigy (north side)

c.

d.

a.

b.

c.

Fig.5.41. Exeter Cathedral: Bishop Stafford (d.1419): a. small chunks missing from his right cloak edge, b. right sleeve; c. a gouge in his right cheek, holes in his left shoulder, mitre, and the attendant figure below his head is missing its upper body. The gouges in Stafford may have been caused by iconoclasts shooting the upper body.

The graffiti on Anthony Harvey's chest tomb (Fig.5.42: Exeter: North Choir: north: d.1564) is so dense that it is barely legible. It radiates outwards onto the edges of the lid and much of the graffiti is written side-on, running south-north. There is no discernible graffiti on the front of the chest-tomb or the back wall of the recess. There are the usual early modern initials with and without cartouches, and repetitions of 'W' and 'VV'. There is earlier dated graffiti than Stafford's. Underneath 'ani 1564' of the inscription, is a date '15[symbol] 8' (Fig.5.42).

a.

b.

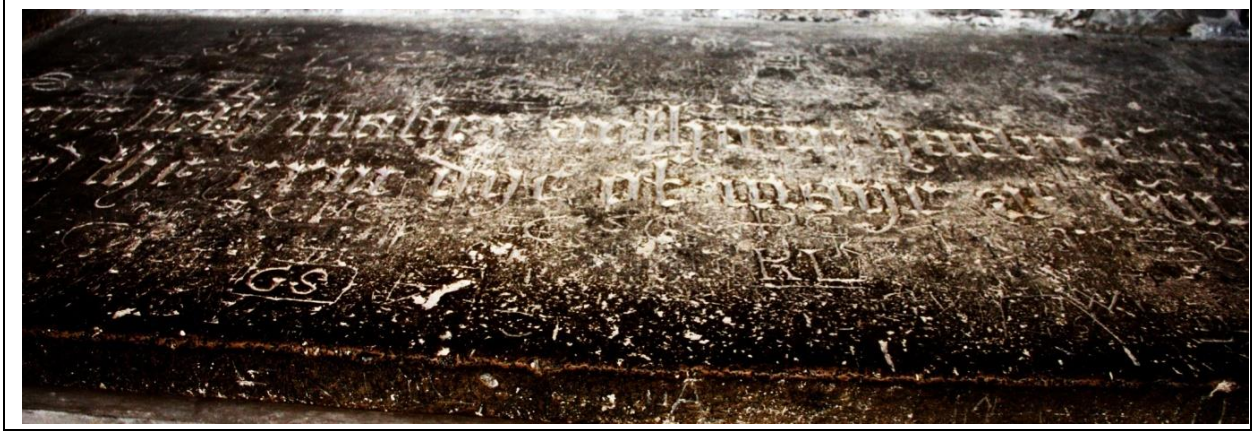


Fig.5.42. Exeter Cathedral:

a. Anthony Harvey's chest tomb (d.1564)

b. graffiti on the tomb surface.

a.

b.

Fig.5.43. Exeter Cathedral: Dorothea Doderidge (d.1614): a. graffiti on the skull and a gouge in her forefinger; b. her effigy tomb in context

Female Effigies and Graffiti

Female effigies in this sample have noticeably little graffiti; only four have discernible evidence. Dorothea Doderidge (Exeter: Period B) has no graffiti on her body but the skull she holds has initials carved into it (Fig.5.43). Lady Mohun (Canterbury: Period A) has a few scratches and the letter 'D' on her chest and some graffitied mutilation of her forehead, but little else. The folds of Dionisia Markenfield's skirt (Ripon: Period B) has some scant graffiti on the folds nearest the tomb edge, but since this is all that remains of her effigy, it may have been inscribed because it was an object that provided a flat surface rather than a reference to her gender. Lady Holland (Canterbury: Period A) is flanked by her husband's effigies on a particularly tall monument, yet the lower folds of her dress has a graffito, from a visitor who has climbed onto the tomb (Fig.5.44). This tomb has been cleaned with wire brushes and the graffiti has been rubbed way in many areas (Fig.5.44). The only visible dates are 1621 and 1720 (Fig.5.44).

While examples of graffiti with dates up to and including the present day may be seen on church monuments, it seems to have dissipated by the late 19th century. For example, heavy fines were issued by Canterbury Cathedral in the 1880s with prosecution under criminal damage and threat of a short jail term if payment was not made (Cathedral Archive: CCA-CC-J/V/1880/175; CCA-CC-J/V/1882/231).

Graffiti: interpretation

Graffiti could be created by anyone and studies of early modern graffiti thus far (e.g. Fleming, 2001; Gordon, 2002; Cody, 2003) have revealed its multivalent nature. The range of sites and media that were graffitied, the intentions of the graffitist, and the (un)intended audience for the graffiti are all contributing factors. In cathedral contexts, as described by Dekker at St Paul's, socially aspirant males might graffiti the interior and monuments in an effort to mimic groups of young, fashionable, wealthier men who demarcated their territory using graffiti around certain monuments (such as 'Duke Humphrey's tomb) or near certain doors and zones. This was part of a broader culture of male friendship groups or class-based professions appropriating the monuments of the dead as a focal point for each group to construct and sustain a collective masculine identity.

Although early modern graffiti were not always a transgressive act (Fleming, 2001), it could be used to that effect on mortuary monuments. Graffitists might gouge eyes or slash throats, of the effigial body. Other gouges noted on effigial bodies which may not relate to gunshot may have also been a type of graffiti. The large, deeply incised ciphers and initials on effigy faces also

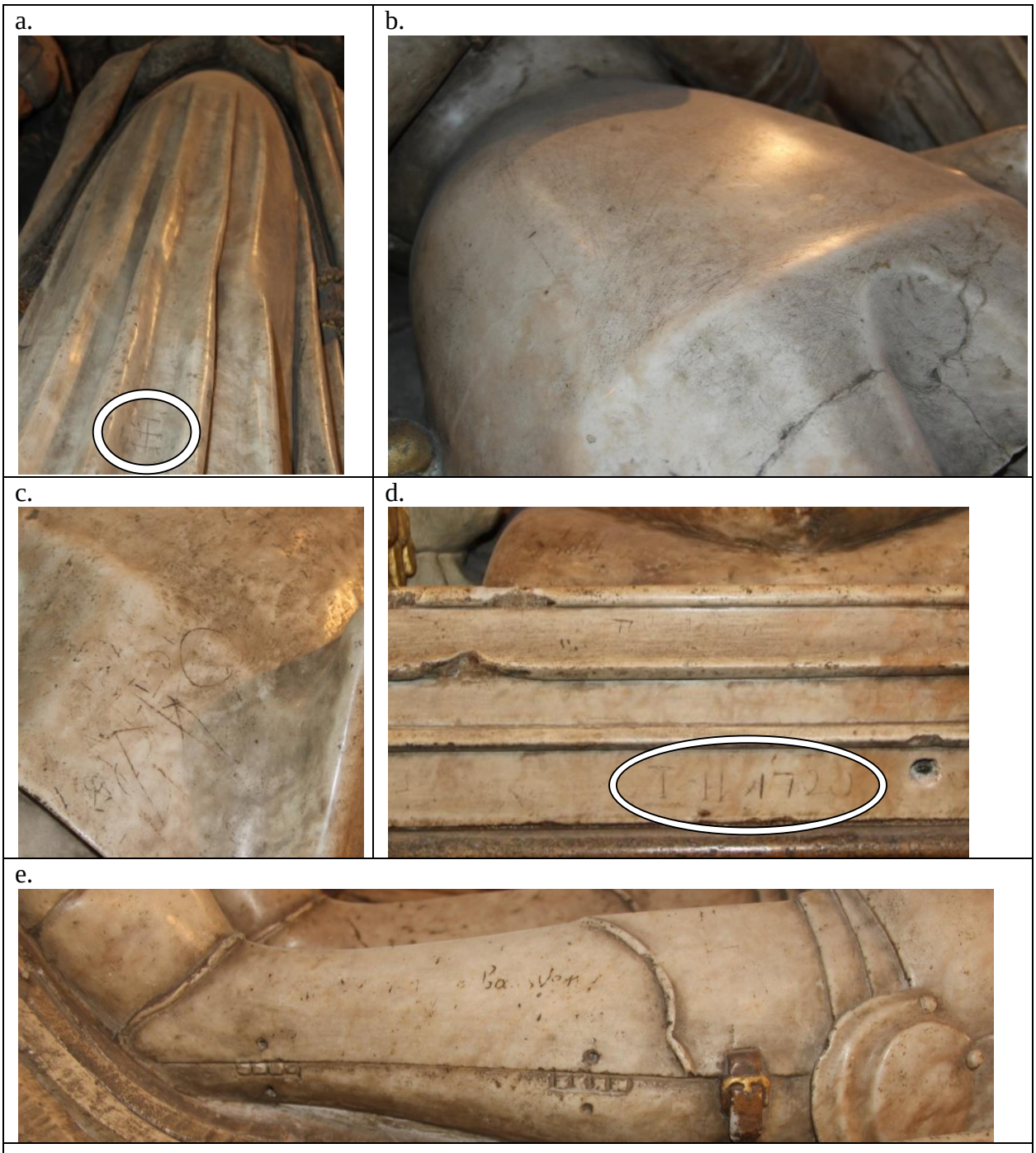


Fig. 5.44. Canterbury Cathedral: St Michael's Chapel: graffiti and its erosion on the Holland tomb: a. Lady Holland's gown; b. cleaning has eroded graffiti on Beaufort's armour (south side of tomb); c. graffiti on north side of Lancaster's tunic (north side of tomb); d. graffiti behind Lancaster's head; e. eroded graffiti on north side of Lancaster's left leg.

allude to branding the face to publically demarcate sins (Graves, 2008, 40, 42) and as way of marking personal property (Fleming, 2001, 113-64).

Thus the lines between graffiti and iconoclasm, and between disowning and appropriating the dead, were particularly blurred in the early modern period. Graffiti could be use to simultaneously deface the dead as a continuation of iconoclasm; assert ownership over the dead; mark territory; impress (male) peers; demarcate an individual's presence during a visit; and/or forge a sense of belonging to a particular social group. In this respect, only focussing on the content of the graffiti overlooks the wider social practices and aspirations of the graffitists themselves.

Conclusion: Haptic Defacement of the Dead and Early Modern Masculinities

This study of iconoclasm, theft, grave-robbing, and graffiti – all contemporary practices by the early 17th century – has provided an opportunity to examine how constructions of masculinity, violence, and restraint were expressed on the bodies of the dead. It has delved into how touch was used to deface the dead and the variety of emotions and social expectations that might have lain behind aggressive hapticity in this period. Such an approach seeks to illuminate the wider social context of iconoclasm from the perspective of masculine performativity and normalised violence.

The religious turbulence initiated by successive Tudor reforms, and anti-reforms under Mary I (Lindley, 2007, 18-30) heavily impacted what it meant to be 'a man'. The loss of knighthood, the damage to patriarchal tombs, the dispersal of thousands of monks into society with a loss of

masculine identity, and the rise of capitalism elevating the new male networks based on commerce and commodification have all been indicted as factors in the rise of male violence in this period.

While the inception and enactment of iconoclasm has been examined from its various theological standpoints, this chapter has situated it within a much longer history of theft and violence against the dead. It has also been argued that mutilation of the effigy and grave-ransacking of the dead inside these cathedrals was an expression of masculine violence which was simultaneously railing against the confusion of what it meant to be 'a man' in this time of turmoil, as well as an opportunity to financially benefit from the 'treasures' within the graves.

Violence was embedded in masculine identities in late medieval and early modern England. It was sanctioned, expected, and praised inside and outside the military. Females were not considered appropriate targets of this violence, although they were subjected to domestic abuse and rape (Levin & Ward, 2008, 8-10). Male-on-Male violence, however, was an expected part of normative masculinity, from battles and duelling to tavern brawls and the 'correction' of servants and boys. Considering that defacement was open to a degree of interpretation by the iconoclasts (Lindley, 2007, 24) and that the significant damage was usually carried out by laymen, soldiers and Protestant clergymen in the 17th century, the issue of corporeal violence needs to be situated within social expectations.

There is no easy distinction between periods of Reformation iconoclasm and Puritan iconoclasm on tombs which existed in both eras. Given the degree of interpretation afforded iconoclasts by

the State, and local vendettas against certain families, it is perhaps unhelpful to expect clearly defined, nation-wide patterns of defacement for any era.

Unsurprisingly, proportionally more Period A tombs had damage than Period B tombs, and a wider variety of body parts had been mutilated. The attacks of the 1640s-1650s on post-Reformation tombs (Period B) were more focussed on a small range of specific body parts, particularly the hands. Conversely, the wide range of body parts and numerous sites of damage across Period A tombs may be due to the successive waves of Reformation and Puritan damage and because these tombs were more accessible to 17th century iconoclasts.

The gendered expectations of violence may explain why fewer female effigies were targeted than male effigies, and why female effigies have fewer sites of damage than their male counterparts in this sample. However, they could also be subjected to large-scale damage, including the removal of Dionisia Markenfield's upper body (Ripon) and Lady Mohun (Canterbury) whose entire face has been cut out. Some of this damage may have been exacerbated by the soft stone, by accidental (later) damage, and structurally weak areas of the effigy. The emotional and psychological state of the individual iconoclast and their subsequent actions against an effigy means a degree of variation is to be expected.

Male effigies in tombs of both periods were not only attacked in more areas than females, but their noses were more commonly targeted. Yet there are also far fewer examples of *denastio* on Period B tombs. Since many of these were only accessible by the clergy, it may reflect a

reluctance to enact such a sexually-loaded form of disfigurement on the effigies of fellow clergymen by Laudians.

Territoriality

This is not simply about the short-term enactment of iconoclasm by groups of (male) iconoclasts of varying religious and social backgrounds. By situating iconoclasm within a much broader spectrum of defacement and disruption of the dead, both above and below ground, various types of iconoclasm can be seen as triggering new directions of defacement such as graffiti on mortuary monuments, which continued long after iconoclasm. Grave-robbing by Parliamentary soldiers was also a short-lived but unprecedented activity inside cathedrals. Touch played a crucial role in shifting the dynamics between the living and the dead in new, evolving forms of Protestantism. There are, of course, many examples of groups attempting to conserve and venerate the dead, from both Protestant (Walsham, 2010) and Catholic (Tarlow, 2003) perspectives in the aftermath of the Reformation. This chapter, however, has focussed on deliberate forms of defacement and disturbance conducted by iconoclasts, graffitists, grave-robbers and thieves in the post-Reformation/early modern cathedral. These are not mutually exclusive groups, and the line between graffiti and iconoclasm could be blurred.

However, there are also nuances of defacement to be uncovered. Protestantism was neither monolithic nor inevitable (Lindley, 2007 30) and it cannot be assumed that the bodily mutilation of effigies under various Protestant responses to Catholicism was consistent in its aims, scope, or intensity. Variation and difference occurred within a generation as well as across the generations as different doctrinal interpretations competed with each other. This was further compounded by

the social and religious backgrounds of different cohorts of iconoclasts: the anti-Catholic senior ecclesiastics installed in successive waves of Tudor reforms; and the parliamentary soldiers, Laudian cathedral clergy, Puritan clergymen, and anti-Catholic citizens involved in mid-17th century iconoclasm. The performative nature of bodily violence enacted by men on predominantly male effigies links with the subjugation, humiliation, and punishment aimed by Civil War soldiers at their opponents.

Nonetheless, if the actions of iconoclasts were informed by wider social practices, such as corporeal punishment (Graves, 2008), other influences may have been shaping the type of iconoclasm enacted. The complex role of violence within performative masculinity in the 16th and 17th centuries may well have affected the different types of iconoclasm executed on male versus female effigies, and on lay versus ecclesiastical effigies. Female effigies from both periods received far fewer sites of damage across their bodies, and attacks were more focussed on their hands rather than other body areas. Similarly, graffiti seem to be sparser, sporadic, and small-scale on female effigies in this sample.

This potentially reflects a widespread understanding in early modern England that male-on-female violence was no credit to masculine prowess, although violence against women occurred in everyday life. Forms of early modern machismo which were situated in inter-personal violence were predicated on males of similar status fighting and wounding each other. Therefore, the more restrained defacement of female effigies, from both periods in this sample, may be partly due to gendered notions of appropriate, public violence by males against female bodies. The range of female effigies available for study from this dataset was small however, and that in

itself reinforces the predominance of masculine corporeality represented in the effigial landscape of these cathedral interiors.

Early modern male-on-male violence amongst the living may also explain some of the nuances of iconoclasm enacted on male effigies. Male effigies have been attacked across a wider variety of body parts in both periods, although the emphasis shifted from effigies of clergymen in Period A tombs, to effigies of lay males in Period B tombs. Certain judicial punishments, such as cutting of the ears or gouging out eyes, are not represented amongst these effigies. Thus, while early modern judicial practices to punish the body influenced some aspects of iconoclasm (Graves, 2008), they are not the sole contributors.

Defacement and Emotion

Graffiti already had a long history within church buildings (Pritchard, 1967), but its appearance on tombs in the latter half of the 16th century is as multivalent in meaning and content as its medieval counterparts on the building's fabric. There is evidence of iconoclasm through graffiti: slashing throats and eyes, gouging, and even graffiting within the mutilated areas. Yet the inscribing of dates, initials, and symbols relevant and meaningful to the graffitist, and potentially (male) social groups centred on certain tombs, created a personal relationship with the tomb, if not the deceased buried or commemorated there. Thus the appropriation of certain monuments or zones of the mortuaryscape through graffiti is not necessarily a simple act of disrespect. Rather, the tomb or deceased was privileged with hidden meanings only intelligible to the graffitist and their cabal. Graffiti was used to incorporate the dead into the biography of individual visitors who date-stamped or initialled the tomb as if it was their own, creating a one-to-one relationship

in that moment. The dense palimpsests of graffiti seen on and around certain monuments also indicates how deeply individualistic and personal this act was, since it was often done at the expense of pre-existing graffiti by others. In this light, the flexible nature of graffiti is embedded within a spectrum of respectful and disrespectful forms of touch.

It is easy to overlook the emotive terrain of iconoclasm, graffiti, and grave-ransacking because the term 'emotional' is weighted towards expressions of vulnerability, tenderness, sensitivity, and respect in caring for corpses (e.g. Tarlow, 1999; 2002). Yet the pride, anger and dissatisfaction expressed by 17th century iconoclasts, and their determination to humiliate the dead, treating their burials with apparent disregard for the integrity of the body and the burial tableaux, are equally emotive responses. The same is true of early modern graffitists indulging in public, self-seeking self-aggrandisement amongst their peers, and the creation of all-male friendship groups centred on tombs. In all these cases, the dead were physically appropriated for public expressions of emotion and collective identity of gender and/or religious groups. A sense of belonging to a greater cause or a socially restricted group or even a dead Duke can be traced through acts of mortuary defacement and disturbances. These desires and emotions were corporately inscribed on certain tombs or in shared events of ransacking graves.

The range of weapons and tools used to hack and gouge stone effigies, carve graffiti, prise away decorations, and carry away token pieces, underlines how defacement was an innately haptic experience. It could also be linked to both collective and individual emotional states of aggression, anger, impatience, and pride. Only by situating defacement within its historical context can these deeper influences be identified. The aftermath of defacement also left tangible

traces which have not been repaired or destroyed to this day. The original purpose of this curation is therefore explored as a way for subjugating the Catholic dead within bodily regimes of pain and suffering.

This chapter has attempted to avoid universalizing iconoclasm, Protestantism, and masculine violence by demonstrating the spectrum of haptic defacement of the dead by different groups in early modern England. These groups were structured around shared identities based on social class, religious beliefs, profession, and/or gender. Protestantism and male aggression was expressed in heterogeneous ways. Although interpersonal violence was celebrated as a signature of early modern masculinity, how violence was channelled by men as a destructive force, and who the perpetrators and recipients of that violence were, reinforced collective male power structures (Feather & Thomas, 2013, 3). Situating violence and defacement of the dead within patriarchal structures which impacted male identities and expressions of masculinity allows a wider appreciation of the importance of violence and its various meanings as a dynamic between the living and the dead.

Chapter 6: Haptic Connections between the Displaced Dead

"In a museum and a cemetery we can 'feel', 'see', and 'hear' absence."

Meyer & Woodthorpe (2008, 13)

Introduction

The final exploration of the cathedral dead alights on physical interaction with human remains, burials, and monuments which were spatially disconnected from each other or ended up displaced from their original context. Only direct forms of touch have been explored thus far. This chapter, however, also considers how the physicality of the living provides a way of presencing the absent dead. This includes those entirely intangible and those presenced through material referents. To address this, the chapter is structured around three arenas of touch, with particular reference to cathedral evidence from the 18th century onwards. The late modern cathedrals in this study provide a series of case studies of publically-accessible handling collections of human remains, as well as a rise in monuments disconnected from burials. Therefore, the late modern cathedral is an ideal arena for exploring connections with dislocated dead.

Part one explores how late modern (18th – early 20th century) visitors were allowed to interact with collections of displaced human remains displayed within cathedrals. Part two presents evidence of the haptic erosion and staining of extant tombs caused by long-term repetitions of touch. Part three examines strategies employed by commissioners of 19th century wall memorials to involve the reader as a physical connection between the memorial and the associated burials.

To discuss collections of disparate evidence by institutions, social historian Foucault's concept of heterotopias is a productive framework for examining cathedrals, particularly as he cites charnel and tombs as brief examples of displaced entities within a building (1984[1967], 5). Heterotopias are places where unrelated pieces of the past are assembled to create an illusory space in which the reality of human experience can be collated, accessed, and experienced (Foucault, 1984[1967]). As a result, heterotopias are symptomatic of late modern Western culture of collecting and ordering displaced items which exist outside of their original context (Foucault, 1984[1967], 7).

Bennett (1995) built on Foucault's heterotopic museums to investigate how 19th and 20th century museums in Britain, Australia, and North America were not merely didactic but a place where social etiquette and public behaviours were negotiated and regulated. From an archaeological perspective, heterotopias offer a rich trajectory of research for exploring the production and representation of the past (Preucel & Meskell, 2007, 223). However, rather than emphasising constructions of heterotopias at heritage sites and museums (e.g. Gable & Handler, 2003), this chapter explores how the cathedral mortuaryscape as a heterotopia was haptically encountered by visitors. Moreover, it explores how the social behaviours governing touch across different classes and genders may have influenced cathedral visitors.

This approach partly echoes studies of pilgrimages and modern museum cultures, both of which have been framed as a form of tourism in which the authenticity of the destination is crucial (Blake, 2007, 242). Blake (2007) adds that heterotopias are also sites of consumption through performances and experiences by the visitors. Thus an exploration of the performative nature of

haptic interactions may illuminate how the public consumption of the displaced dead in late modern cathedrals was encouraged and orchestrated.

Aims

The three forms of evidence under consideration in this chapter are contextualised within the culture of touch in early museums, particularly the British Museum. As will be shown, haptic interactions with museum displays was a privilege afforded the socially elite (male) visitor. In some cathedrals, historic objects and human remains were also on display to the public. Although contemporary accounts of handling cathedral relics and curated bones are scant, the culture of touch in contemporary museums may illuminate how cathedral visitors were expected to interact with the dead. Haptic culture in early museums may also provide a wider context to explain why many tombs came to be eroded in certain places, and why many wall memorial commissioners were keen to specify how to find the burials.

Touch in Early Museums of the 18th and 19th Centuries

Before examining evidence from the cathedrals, the social rules and cultural perceptions of touch in late modern England must be outlined. There is a wealth of documentary evidence for the significance and orchestration of touch in early museums and other cathedrals in this period which provide a point of reference for interpreting mortuary touch in the five cathedrals under discussion.

Visitors to British museums expected to be able to touch the collections; a privilege not expected in museums on the Continent (Classen & Howes, 2006, 201). A variety of non-ocular

interactions with collections were permitted, such as feeling, shaking, smelling and lifting objects (Classen & Howes, 2006). For example, in 1702 Cecilia Fiennes reported touching and picking up a cane and several loadstones at the British Museum which were displayed alongside pieces of steel to test them on (Candlin, 2010, 70-1). Sophie de La Roche's account of her visit to the British Museum in 1786 details how she marvelled at the sensations she experienced in feeling a Carthginian helmet, household utensils from Herculaneum, Roman mirrors and Greek and Roman funerary urns:

> "I felt it gently, with great feeling… I pressed the grain of dust between my fingers tenderly, just as her best friend might once have grasped her hand" (quoted in Classen & Howes, 2006, 201).

Museums and cathedrals were equally popular places for handling 'ancient' artefacts. Fiennes, Hutton, and de La Roche also visited Westminster Abbey where paying tips to the many vergers around the building allowed them haptic rather than merely visual access to human remains and artefacts on display (Candlin, 2010, 75). Fiennes touched the funerary urns containing the remains of Newton and Addison, and Hutton stroked the side of St Edward's tomb (Candlin, 2010, 75). At the Tower of London, Hutton was allowed, even encouraged, to hold parts of the crown jewels, including items worn by the king in parliament and to wear the spurs and bracelets used at the coronation; other elements he could touch "by reaching through the bars" (Hutton, 1785, 217-8).

Curators could hand out fragments or low-value items from their collections to esteemed visitors as souvenirs and goodwill, as decreed for the Keeper of the Ashmolean (Classen, 2007, 902).

When Uffenbach visited Wakefield Tower in London, he asked for a piece of an ancient letter to be torn off for him as a souvenir, which the curator obliged (Classen, 2007, 902). Haptic access was not unlimited, however and Uffenbach was not allowed to scrape off some of "the famous stone of the Patriarch Jacob" with his knife while visiting the Chapel of St Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey (Classen, 2007, 899). He was aware that those who even tried to sit in one of the coronation chairs were "liable to punishment" (quoted in Classen, 2007, 899).

Although touching artefacts in museums and the Tower of London, and mortuary monuments in cathedrals, was restricted to those who could afford to pay for special access, once it had been paid, access was almost endless and very much encouraged by the warders and custodians (Candlin, 2010, 71-6). Classen (2007, 903) reports how Samuel Pepys could hold the remains of Queen Katherine, wife of Henry V, during his visit to Westminster Abbey in 1669:

> "[I] had the upper part of her body in my hands. And I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queen and that this was my birthday." (quoted in Classen, 2007, 903).

Touch and Social Class

However, social class was a great filter between those who could look and those who could touch. On his first visit to the Tower, the Birmingham merchant William Hutton had been debarred because of "my Derbyshire dialect… [and] the dust abound on my shoes" which led the warder to believe Hutton would not have enough money to afford the entrance fee or the tips (Hutton, 1785, 199). At the British Museum in the 18th century touch was exclusive to the wealthier members of society (Candlin, 2010, 71-5). Those writing their accounts, such as de La Roche and the diarist Joseph Fiennes (below), were privileged and socially well-connected and

therefore exempt from regulations imposed on the lower classes in England (Candlin, 2010, 71-2). Fiennes and de La Roche were taken on private tours of the museum, hosted on Tuesdays and Thursdays (Candlin, 2010, 74). The public tours, however, were rushed affairs, as experienced by Hutton in 1785, who was unable to "regale the senses, for two hours, upon striking objects" as he had hoped (Hutton, 1785, 191-2). Instead the objects were rapidly thrust in front of him and quickly snatched away before he was able to fully engage with them (Hutton, 1785, 191-2).

When the lower English classes were afforded access to the British Museum on public holidays from 1837 onwards, the staff were amazed at the respectful distance they kept from the displays and the lack of touch (Candlin, 2010, 81-2, 85). Indeed, the Select Committees of the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s commended the lower classes for their behaviour, including the admittance of working class children with and without their parents to the National Gallery, and noting that no damage was caused whatsoever by them, either deliberately or accidentally (Candlin, 2010, 82). This is probably due to the 1832 guide for working-class museum visitors to the British Museum, which encouraged three rules: do not touch anything, do not be loud, and do not be obtrusive (British Museum, 1832, 14). As part of 'do not touch', visitors were warned not to graffiti their names into artefacts:

> "1st. Touch nothing. The statues, and other curious things, which are in the Museum, are to be seen, not to be handled. If visitors were to be allowed to touch them, to try whether they were hard or soft, to scratch them, to write upon them with their pencils, they would soon be worth very little. You will see some mutilated remains of two or three of the finest figures that ever were executed in the world; they form part of the collection called the Elgin Marbles, […] Is it not as great ignorance [as the Turkish soldiers who mutilated

> them] for a stupid fellow of our own day slily [sic] to write his own paltry name upon one of these glorious monuments? Is it not such an act the most severe reproach upon the writer? Is it not as if the scribbler should say, "Here am I, in the presence of some of the great masterpieces of art, whose antiquity ought to produce reverence, if I cannot comprehend their beauty; and I derive a pleasure from putting my own obscure, perishable name upon works whose fame will endure for ever." What a satire upon such vanity. Doubtless, these, fellows who are so pleased with their own weak selves, as to poke their names into every face, are nothing but grown babies and want a fools cap most exceedingly." (British Museum, 1832, 14).

The Select Committee of 1841 marvelled that over 32,000 members of the general public had visited the British Museum over a three to four-year period and not once had they needed to call the police for assistance (Candlin, 2010, 82). By this time, the British Museum was no longer employing warders, and police acted as their substitutes, so in essence the need for warders to protect or handle the collections were simply not needed as the general public were not trying to touch the objects and monuments (Candlin, 2010, 82). This difference in attitude was recalled by the respected art writer, Anna Jameson, who wrote in 1841:

> "We can all remember the public days at the Grosvenor Gallery and the Bridgewater House, we can remember the loiterers and loungers… people who instead of moving among the wonders and beauties… with reverence and gratitude, strutted about as if they had a right to be there; talking, flirting, touching the ornaments - even the pictures." (quoted in Candlin, 2010, 77).

However, as Candlin (2010, 77, 84-6) points out, the lower classes were allowed access but not on equal terms with their elite counterparts, and the inability to touch the displays was the price paid for wider admittance. The touch of the working class was associated "with damage, a lack of common sense and an absence of justice." (Candlin, 2010, 85). Their touch was considered intellectually sterile and therefore irrelevant to understanding the past, compared to the rational, knowledgeable touch of the educated upper classes (Candlin, 2010, 86).

Touch and Gender

Handling artefacts also had a gender bias. When de La Roche visited the Tower of London, she picked up the ancient shields to feel the weight, but she felt it was inappropriate for the female warder "handling things, turning them round and round and putting them back again" because "it seems impossible that a woman, furthermore so ungainly in appearance, should be put in charge of pure gold and all that a crown implies" (Candlin, 2010, 76). German diarist Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a contemporary of Hutton and de La Roche, visited the Bodleian and Ashmolean museums where he reported stroking the Florentine marble statues to check their authenticity and measured them with his hands and fingers (Candlin, 2010, 76). However, like de La Roche, Uffenbach was dismissive of people touching artefacts in the museum "in the usual English fashion… even the women are allowed up here for sixpence; they run here and there grabbing everything" (quoted in Candlin, 2010, 76). Touch, and its implied ownership, was couched in both socially elite and masculine terms.

Touch and Religious and National Identities

Touching artefacts, monuments and art pieces in the 18th and 19th centuries was viewed as a uniquely English obsession. For example, Robert Southey's *Letters from England* (1807) mentions:

> "that barbarous habit which Englishmen have of seeing by the sense of touch… They can never look at a thing without having it in the hand, nor show it to another person without touching it with a stick, if it is within reach." (Southey, 1807).

Joseph Planta, head librarian at the British Museum, visited Paris in 1841 and noticed how the only haptic engagement with the public exhibitions was by two Englishmen (Candlin, 2010, 80). Another curator from the British Museum in 1836 described the English as the only Europeans who would treat artefacts and historical documents "with very great carelessness", "even [the] artists and collectors" (Candlin, 2010, 80). German diarist J.D. Passavant wrote in 1836 about:

> "...the little respect paid by the English public to the property of such individuals [in this case, the Marquis of Westminster's collection]; [it is] a national error which is carried to a degree of which foreigners can form little idea." (Passavant, (1978[1836]), 147).
>
> "Many is the delicate morsel of sculpture, the beautiful limb, or elegantly wrought leaf, which the fatal rap of an English cane, (crueler far than the hand of Time) for the false and perverted pleasure of affording the traveller some souvenir, has detached forever from its place." (Passavant, (1978[1836]), 148-9).

English museum visitors in the 18th and 19th centuries were more likely to touch art and artefacts than other Europeans, which was ascribed by Continental commentators to Anglican

Protestantism (Bennett, 1998, 81-112). The sculptor C.R. Cockerell argued at the Select Committee on National Monuments and Works of Art in 1841 that the Protestant English had handled Westminster Abbey's sculpture in a disrespectful manner, unlike Catholic visitors who understood their religious importance (Candlin, 2010, 81).

The Dean of Westminster took a similar position opining that "the origin and want of respect to public buildings arose in the time of Puritanism, and it has been very deeply rooted in the popular mind" whereas "countries that have not gone through Puritanism… have retained respect for their cathedrals" (quoted in Candlin, 2010, 81). The Dean attributed the Catholic ritual of dipping fingers into holy water upon entering churches and cathedrals as their reminder that the building was sacred (Candlin, 2010, 81). Bennett (1998, 110-112) has attributed this English tendency to touch objects and monuments during the 18th and 19th century as symptomatic of Protestantism's shift towards visual-literacy rather than visual-orality.

However, by the 19th century, touch artefacts and handling collections were no longer allowed for the public, or at least to take place in public arenas (Candlin, 2010, 58-90). Candlin (2010, 91-118) suggests museum curators, by virtue of having exclusive access to handling artefacts on a daily basis, generated the evolution of connoisseurship which was (originally) predicated on the ability to identify archaeological and art historical pieces through touch as well as sight.

> "Both the possibility of touching objects and their supposed contribution to the visitors' learning, pleasure and subjectivity all depended upon *who* touched. […] who was given the opportunities to touch and whose touch was stymied; whose touch was considered rational and whose not." (Candlin, 2010, 76-7).

The dead in cathedrals were part of a wider culture of haptic interaction in a burgeoning heritage tourism industry. Although personal responses to the physicality of the cathedral mortuaryscape are harder to glean than those available for early museums, the museum accounts provide a point of reference for how the tombs and human remains inside cathedrals might have been handled. The social and gender filters employed at museums created a hierarchy of sensory experiences. Sight alone was for the lower classes, and to some extent, females. Touch was the preserve of the elites, and being able to handle artefacts meant other senses such as taste, smell, and sound could be deployed. Indeed, in these contexts of haptic tourism, touch was viewed as an important, highly personalised way of experiencing and understanding the material culture of the past (Classen & Howes, 2006). Statues were still being kissed, even by private collectors, into the 17th and 18th centuries though some began to feel it was 'savage' and 'vulgar' (Classen, 2007, 901-2).

A mid-17th-century French courtier reported how touch was a way of confirming that the life-like sculptures of humans and animals were not actually alive or animated (Classen, 2007, 901). It allowed them to touch exotic animals, Divine beings, and people from history they would never be able to meet in reality and the sensuous form of the sculpture seduced the viewer to touch and explore (Classen, 2007, 901). However, repeated touching of museum and heritage displays led to damage and even theft. In 1754 *The Connoisseur* satirised young adult male visitors so fixated on creating their own artistic and archaeological collections that they robbed churches and houses and damaged their quarry in an attempt to escape (Candlin, 2010, 80). The article joked that these 'connoisseurs' stole King Henry I's head from Westminster Abbey and

"Queen Catherine's Bones, and hopes in a little while to be master of the whole skeleton." (quoted in Candlin, 2010, 80).

Conversely, touch could be a transgressive act when the lower classes handled monuments previously exclusive to the touch of the elite. An extreme example from 18th century France reveals this attitude: Louis-Sebastian Mercier described visiting a post-Revolutionary museum of toppled monuments in Paris in 1797:

> "I walked on tombs, I strode on mausoleums. Every rank and costume lay beneath my feet. I spared the face and bosoms of queens. Lowered from their pedestals, the grandest personages were brought down to my level; I could touch their brows, their mouths...." (quoted in Classen, 2007, 908).

What these myriad examples highlight is how handling museum collections was choreographed according to stereotypes of nationality, religion, gender, and social class. It was considered a distinctly English attitude to physically inspect artefacts and monuments. However, visitors were segregated according to their perceived social status, based on clothing and accent in some cases. Different forms of touch were also characterised as 'Protestant' or 'Catholic'. Females, especially of the lower classes, were also not expected to handle artefacts because of their perceived irrationality and mistreatment of items.

The pleasant surprise reported by the British Museum when working class visitors did not touch any items indicates the degree of anxiety surrounding the wrong kind of haptic encounter. These examples also emphasise Bennett's (1995) thesis that social manners played a significant role in

early museums. Touch was a form of bodily etiquette at the forefront of visitor's experiences, which was either encouraged or denied. In a similar vein to the graffiti discussed in the previous chapter, touch in museums was a sign of social aspiration as well as status.

PART 1: SKELETAL DISPLAYS

In cathedral mortuaryscapes, the most obvious socially-elite form of touch amongst visitors was the private tomb openings. Investigations into the (in)famous dead in cathedrals and churches were conducted in the 18th and 19th centuries (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005, 8-10; McCombe, 2015). They were usually performed for 'scientific' reasons to identify and authenticate the remains of famous individuals or anomalous burials (Gilchrist & Sloane, 2005, 8-10). The bodies were reburied after inspection, although grave-goods might be retained as 'cathedral treasures' (see Appendix 3 for examples recovered from the sampled cathedrals) such as the ring of Bishop Brantyngham uncovered at Exeter (J. Cherry, 1991). However, there were a series of unidentified bodies and collections of human bones which were on public display inside some of the cathedrals. Three such displays from the cathedrals of St Albans, Exeter, and Ripon bear witness to this, plus references to relic cupboards at Chester and Canterbury.

St Albans Cathedral: Duke Humphrey

In 1703 a new burial vault was to be built in the Saint's Chapel although it was already occupied by Duke Humphrey's 15th-century burial vault (d.1443; Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200). Upon opening Duke Humphrey's sarcophagus, workmen found his bones had already been well handled and many stolen (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200). The theft was undateable, but may reflect grave-robbing by parliamentary soldiers. Nonetheless, his vault quickly became a tourist

attraction (Fig. 6.1), which the parish clerk capitalised on by charging a fee (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200). One anonymous visitor commented:

> "The Body is enclosed in Lead something in shape to an Egyptian mommy. They had open'd it with a knife from the forehead to the breast. The Coffin was full of pickle… pungent, and much resembling a strong solution of nitre… by the amazing concourse of Strangers to see him this pickle by some taking it away in vials, and tasting it, was in a few years exhausted. The Corps now lays… as hard as a piece of any dry'd flesh. I have his Beard wch the Archdeacon gave me leave to take away from the lowest part of his Chin - the hair was about two Inches long, and of a reddish colour," (quoted in Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200).

A trapdoor was installed over the staircase (Fig. 6.2) into the Duke's vault for better access (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200). Duke Humphrey's 'pickle' became a huge tourist attraction, angering the local caterers as revealed by another anonymous account dated 1767:

> "All travellers of real antiquarian curiosity went into the Vault and tasted the pickle, wch serv'd them for a dinner, as a little of this was sufficient to drive away hunger for at least 24 hours. The Burgesses of the Corporation, most of whom were Innkeepers, found a great decay in business, because travellers did not eat and drink in it… They therefore resolved to tap the Coffin, let out the liquor, melt down the lead, put the Corps[e] into a large wooden Chest, and leave the Good Duke the dry title only of his Grace of Barebones. There is nothing now preserved of him but these bones, wch seem to show that he had been a tall man (quoted in Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 200).

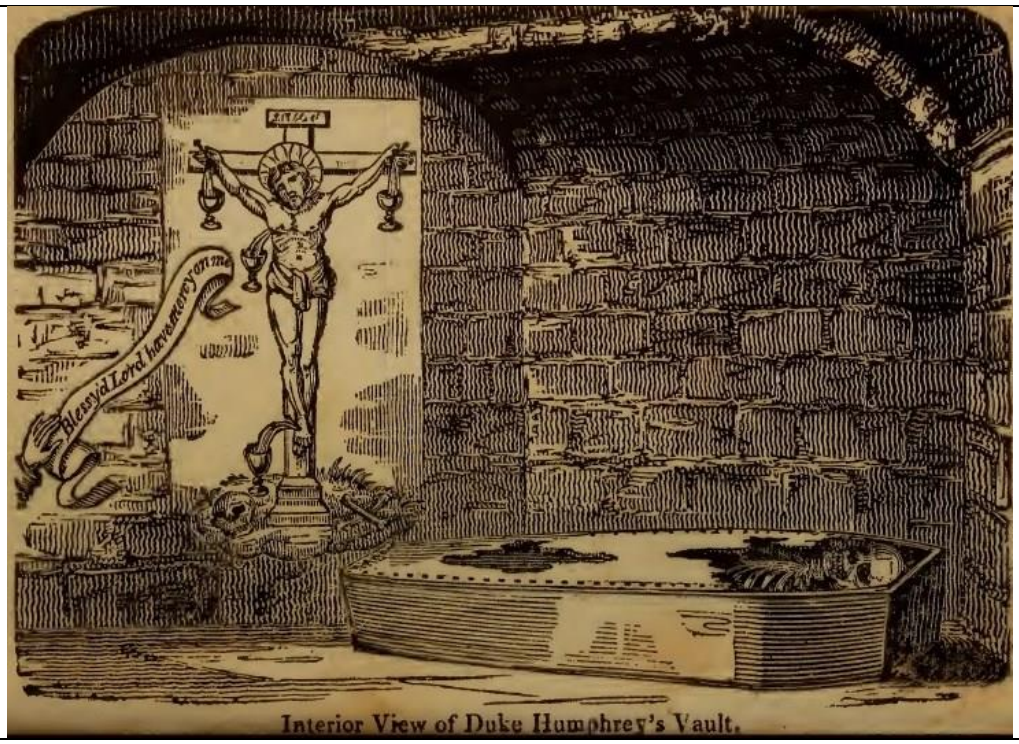


Fig.6.1.St Albans Cathedral: Duke Humphrey's Vault in 1815 drawn for the guidebook produced by St Alban's Cathedral (St Albans, 1815, 125).

John Kent became parish clerk in 1746 and attempted to recover as many of Duke Humphrey's circulated bones as possible, and banned any further removal of material from Humphrey's tomb (Jones, 1993, 245-6). In 1815, it was remarked that "Since that period the skeleton has been rudely handled, bone after bone having been purloined by the curious, till very few remain" (St Albans, 1815, 108). In 1897, Duke Humphrey's remains were still available for inspecting, and were described by Wright in 1897 as 'very dry' but no 'unpleasantness' was encountered although the 'embalming liquor' was also "exhausted by exposure to the air, and all the bones of the skeleton were either mouldered into dust or carried away" (quoted in Niblett & Thompason, 2005, 200). The tomb was re-inspected in 1902 and human remains were found but may not have

been original (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 215, 230). These included lead fragments from the original coffin and “a shiny brown skull, and seven other bones'” all in a wooden box: the polish and brown staining of the skull speak of repeated handling by visitors (Niblett & Thompson, 2005, 215, 230).

Exeter Cathedral: female corpse on display

At Exeter Cathedral in 1818 the skeleton of a woman executed for killing her illegitimate child was on display in a wooden case in St Gabriel's chapel (Exeter Cathedral, 1818, 37-8). When it had appeared in the cathedral was unknown, but her body had been regularly inspected by 'the curious' and she still had teeth, nails, tendons, and dried flesh attached to one hand, although some toes had disappeared (Exeter Cathedral, 1818, 37-8). In 1833, a year after opening Bishop Brantyngham’s tomb, and the same year the Courtenay tomb was opened, she was buried in a vault below the north nave aisle (Curiositas, 1833).

In a letter to *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* an anonymous reporter (‘Curiositas’) said The Dean and Chapter felt it was 'unseemly' to display her any longer, especially in a cathedral (Curiositas, 1833). Access had been restricted to the body “for a considerable time” and only shown to those who expressed a sincere desire to see it (Curiositas, 1833). This restriction was described as “showing much greater judgement, and certainly far better taste” (Curiositas, 1833). The author felt it necessary to remind the reader that it was a “remnant of what was once a human being, - this emblem of mortality” (Curiositas, 1833).

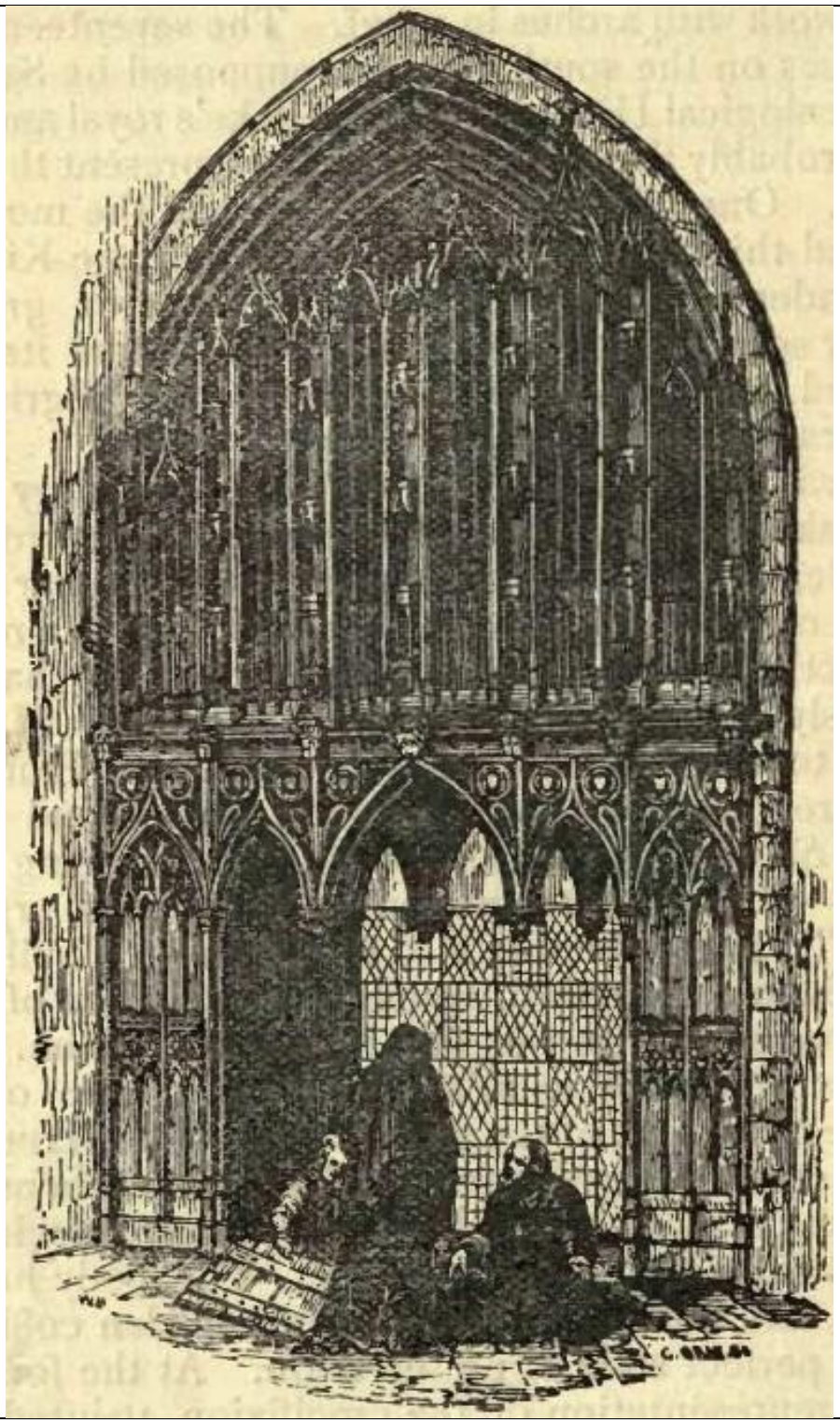


Fig.6.2. Trapdoor entrance to Duke Humphrey's Vault (Mason, 1884, 92).

Ripon Cathedral: the bone-house

As previously discussed, the bones of the sainted dead were kept relatively hidden in pre-Reformation shrines and even curated charnel of the common dead seems to have been kept out-of-sight, below ground. Ripon Cathedral does not appear to have had a documented medieval charnel chapel. However, in the 16th century, Ripon's Norman crypt (not the Wilfridian crypt), beneath the chapter house, began to be filled with dislocated bones from an area of the cemetery cleared ahead of the extension of the nave to the north and south (Forster, Robson & Deadman, 1993, 49). From 1512 onwards, the fabric roles of Ripon cathedral contain payment entries to workmen for the 'carriage of bones', presumably to the crypt (Hallett, 1901, 120).

A late 18th-century engraving housed at Newby Hall depicts stacks of bones hidden behind a wall east of the choir's eastern wall (Forster, Robson & Deadman, 1993, 49). These were probably exhumed bones that could not fit into the Norman crypt or a sample of the charnel set up for display (Forster, Robson & Deadman, 1993, 49). There is no record of this charnel display in the medieval accounts (Fowler, 1882 a,b,c) and it is not mentioned in any of the later cathedral commentaries (e.g. Buckland, 1882; Micklethwaite, 1882; 1883; Hallett, 1901). Presumably it had been cleared before the late 19th century.

However, the dump of bones in the Norman crypt was arranged into a large display of skulls and long bones in 1843 by Dennis Wilson (Fig.6.3), the old parish sexton, who made it his personal project (Buckland, 1882, 175). Francis Buckland (1882), the antiquary and geologist, visited the 'bone-house' in 1867 and was taken to the Norman crypt by "the civil and intelligent verger" Mr Benson:

> "Unlocking the door, we at once beheld a 'Golgotha'. Bones, bones, bones, everywhere; skulls, arm-bones, leg-bones; skulls of old men, young men, men in the prime of life, and of women and children; they were not, I am pleased to say, huddled together in an unseemly and incongruous muse, but all stacked and arranged with decency and order." (Buckland, 1882, 174-5).

> "… the pillars of the crypt were ornamented with festoons of skulls. The arches from the pillars to the walls sustained rows of skulls; in fact, wherever there was a vacant space there a skull had been placed. […] One of the skulls, in particular, presented a highly-polished surface on the forehead. This I think can be accounted for by the fact that this skull happens to be just in the place most easily reached by the hand of the visitor, and the touch of the fingers of many visitors for years past has given is this peculiar appearance. I am more convinced of this because an enormously long *femur*, or thigh-bone, measuring 21 1/2 inches, is kept separate from the rest, and is placed in the hands of the visitors by the verger for examination. This *femur* carries a bright polish like a looking glass." (Buckland, 1882, 176. Original italics).

The display was 6ft long x 4ft wide (1.8m x 1.2m) composed of alternating layers of skulls and long bones "with the round ends protruding" (Buckland, 1882, 175). Buckland counted thirteen skulls in a row and twelve skulls in a 'row lengthways' totalling 9912 skulls but was told there were more below the floor to a depth of 4ft [1.2m] (Buckland, 1882, 174-9). The sexton had buried all the other types of bones in the churchyard (Buckland, 1882, 177).

Local youths would dare each other to steal skull through the openings into the crypt from the churchyard (Forster, Robson & Deadman, 1993, 49). Novelist William Harrison Ainsworth (1855, 253-6) wrote a poem, *The Barber of Ripon and the Ghostly Basin*, based on the legend of a barber stealing one of the skulls to use as a lathering bowl and being haunted by the skull's owner until it was returned to the bone-house.

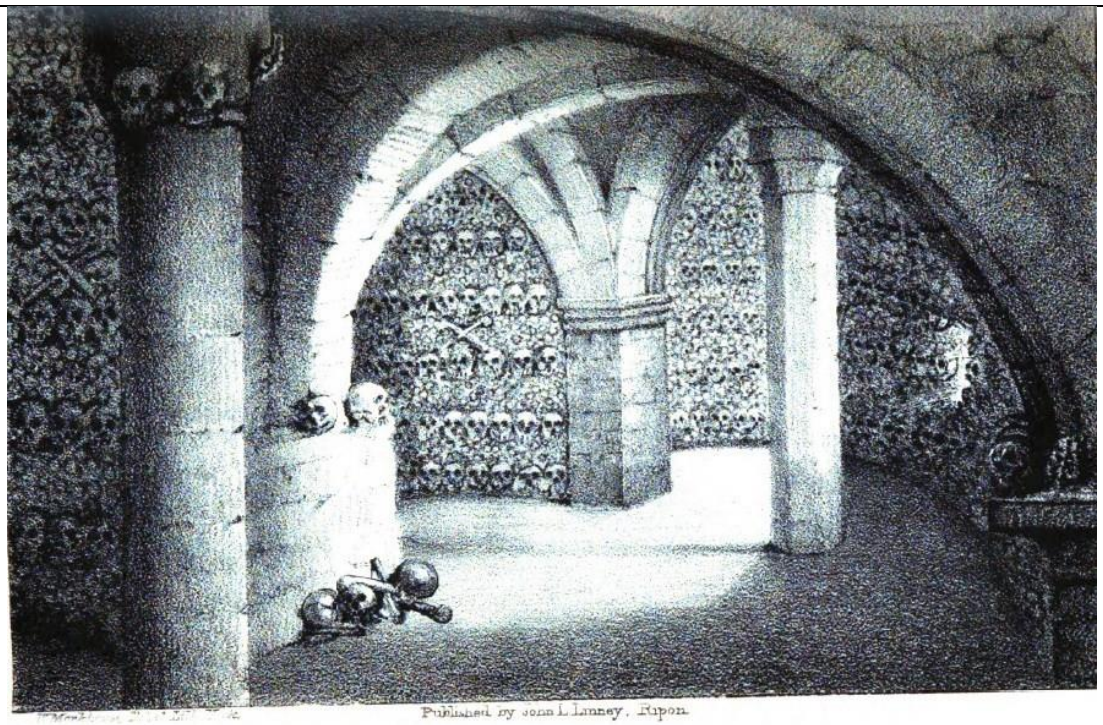


Fig. 6.3. Ripon Cathedral Bone-House (Anon, 1838, 63).

However, the Norman crypt had been closed to the public by the local authorities at the time of Buckland's (1882, 177) writing in September 1867 and the bones were buried in a pit in the churchyard in 1865 (Hallett, 1901, 120).

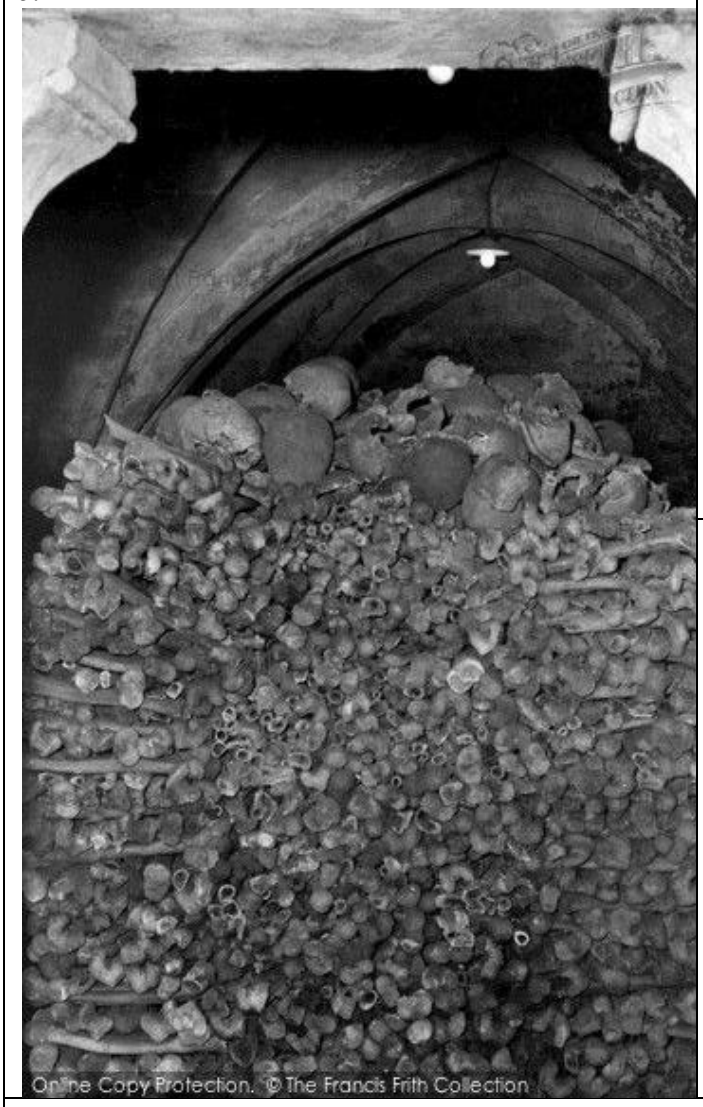
Buckland compares Ripon's bone-house with similar public charnel displays at Hythe church, Kent; St Mary's church, Nottingham; Rothwell church (Fig.6.4) and another unnamed church, both in Northamptonshire (Buckland, 1882, 190-2). At Rothwell, the sexton reported long bones had been stolen by recent visitors and there was a notice at Hythe not to graffiti the skulls (Buckland, 1882, 188, 190). These mass charnel dumps had been found around a century earlier at Rothwell, St Mary's and Northamptonshire, indicating they had only become accessible (again) to the public in the late 18th century (Buckland, 1882, 190-2). Many of the skulls had unhealed fractures and cut-marks, and robust muscle attachments, which led several 19th-century investigators to connect many of them with Civil War soldiers (their reports and letters are reprinted in Buckland, 1882, 180-92). Current osteoarchaeological research at Rothwell indicates most of them actually date to between the 13th and 16th centuries (University of Sheffield, 2015).

Relic Cupboards

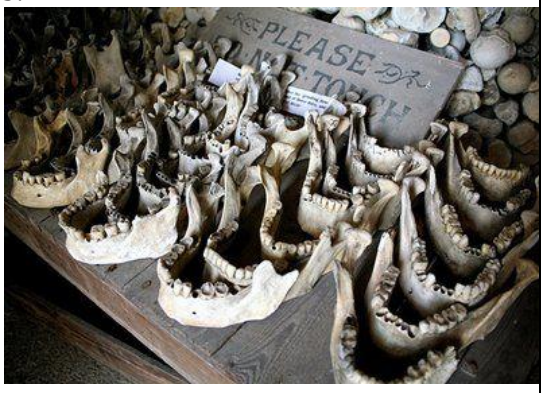
While most, if not all, relics were destroyed at the Reformation, the practice of keeping collections of curated bones and 'relics' in cupboards continued long afterwards. Two human skulls were kept in the relic cupboard (inside the watchloft – see Fig.6.5) at St Albans in 1815 (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). One, presumed to be a monk, was 'highly polished' from frequent handling by visitors but had little decay otherwise and excellent teeth (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). The second skull was smaller, and judged to be female. It also had less perfect teeth, although whether this referred to the fact some were missing or they were in decayed condition is unclear (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). An 'uncommonly large' thigh bone was also in the relic cupboard which had become highly polished from repeated handling (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). Tradition held that it had belonged to Major Broadbank who served in Cromwell's army. There was also a

chalice recovered 'imperfect' from a stone coffin, suggesting it had already been damaged in a previous grave opening (St Albans, 1815, 122-5).

a.



b.



c.

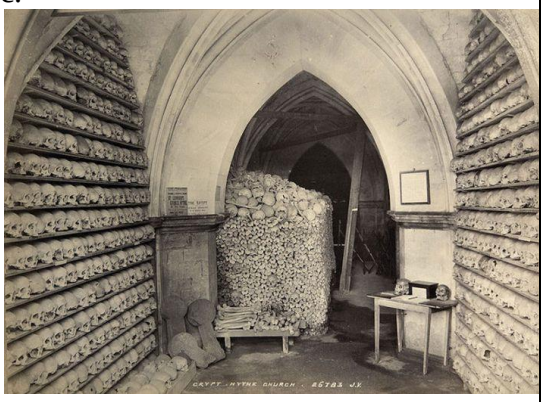


Fig.6.4 Left: the charnel in the crypt *c.*1955. (Francis Frith collection neg. R322015) a. Rothwell church, Northamptonshire; b. ‘do not touch’ sign amongst the jawbones (St Leonard’s Church, n.d.); c. charnel at St Leonard's Church, Hythe, Kent in 1900 (Historic England AL0196/007/02).

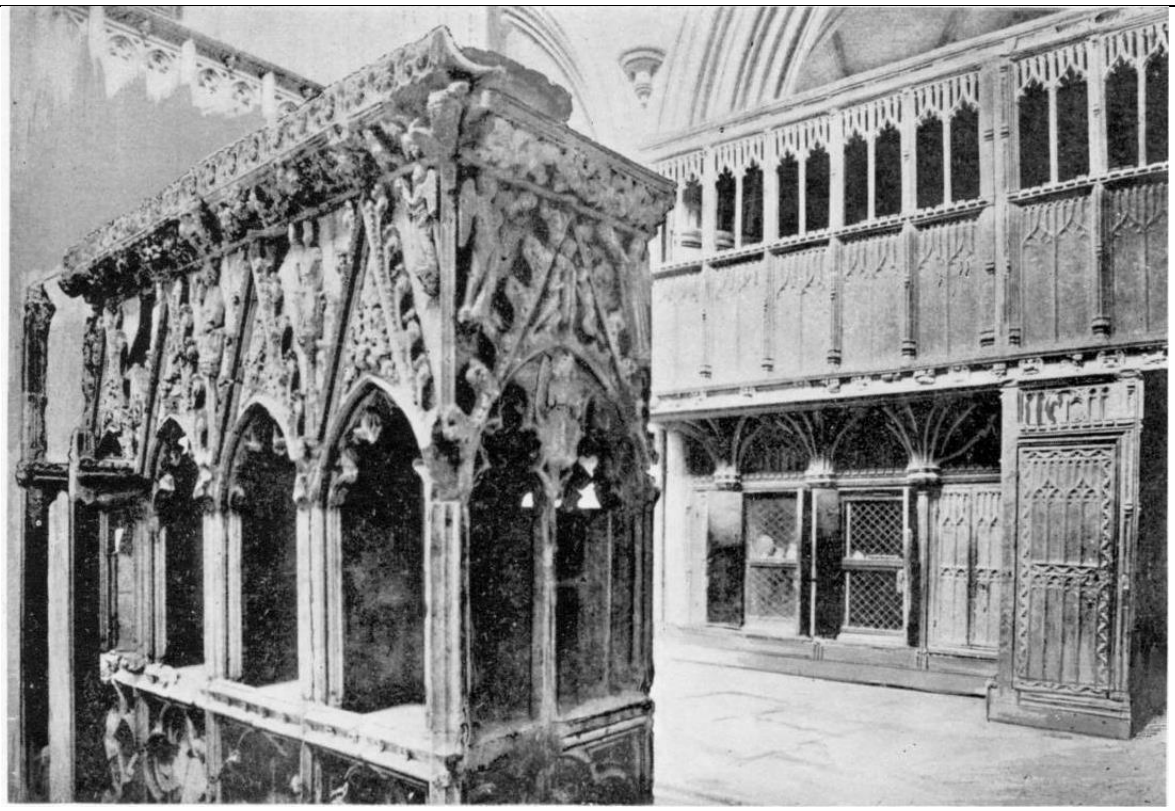


Fig.6.5. St Albans Cathedral: The watchloft in the background has screen doors in the lower half which are the relic cupboards. (Wall, 1905, Plate XII).

Also in St Alban's relic cupboard were three decayed human teeth and a Roman urn, still containing cremains which had been dug up from inside the church and was believed to have been appropriated for "ashes or bones of some distinguished personage" (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). Other 'relics' included Roman tiles and tesselae; several iron artefacts (keys, large spur), and a Judas coin (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). Floor brasses, deliberately removed when they became loose, were stored in the cupboard and a dislocated altar piece lay on top of the cupboard (St Albans, 1815, 122-5). The relics in St Alban's relic cupboard were still viewable in 1897, including a spur from one of the battles of St Albans (1455 or 1461); a hazel wand with cloth

from a monk's habit was wrapped around it (taken from an unidentified stone coffin); and sherds of Roman pottery (Liddell, 1897, 43).

The wooden relic cupboard at Chester in 1819 was near the door to St Mary's [Erasmus] chapel opposite a piscina in the south choir aisle, although the contents were unrecorded (Ormerod, 1819, 218). According to Ormerod (1819, 219) fragments of the plaited black and white squares of paper found covering the exhumed body of 'Hugh Lupus' in Chester's chapter house in 1724 (Hemingway, 1831, 55) were still preserved in the cathedral in his day, potentially in the relic cupboard.

Upon leaving Canterbury for London, Ogygius passes an almshouse at Harbledown where beggars accost passerbys by sprinkling holy water on them, then holding out a shoe with a brass rim with a glass 'jewel' embedded in it (Erasmus, 1526 [1957], 88-9). Stanley (1911, 241) reported in 1911 that an old chest in Canterbury Cathedral still contained a relic and offering box: an 'ancient' maple bowl containing a piece of rock crystal. It was believed to be the glass gem from the Harbledown shoe mentioned by Erasmus' Ogygius. The collection box in the relic cupboard with a slit in the lid and a chain handle was believed to be at least 16th-century in date and Stanley imagined this was one of the relics and donation boxes Erasmus encountered (Stanley, 1911, 241). These were kept as cathedral treasures and for inspection by visitors.

Displays of Human Remains

Bennett (1998) argued that the late 18th and 19th centuries saw a shift from objects and bodies being enclosed within restricted spaces, such as curiosity cabinets in private residences, to open

displays in more public arenas, particularly in the context of early museums. This could easily be expanded to churches, many of which continued to house displaced human remains for public viewing and handling. The tangibility of unidentifiable human remains demanded some kind of narrative to identify them. Thus charnel became collectives known as 'the war dead' or 'plagues victims' or just past populations from the churchyard. This was a way of future-proofing the unnamed dead who had no individual identity. While their identities were intangible and unrecoverable, handling individual bones reanimated them in the physical world of the living.

The anxiety of uncovering the known and (in)famous dead seems to have informed the quick re-burial of opened tombs, and the careful justification of opening them to begin with by recording their 'scientific' properties or to confirm ambiguous historical accounts of their death and burial. Tomb-openings were relatively quick, private affairs conducted by the clergy, scholars and/or local 'experts' who were careful to preserve what was found. Conversely, mass displays of unnamed individuals in charnel collections seem to have been available to the public for decades, if not centuries. The agency of custodians in selecting and offering certain bones or regulating who can and cannot access human remains must also be remembered. Removing and handling a skull or two of the unnamed dead would not destabilise their collective identity. Although they were displaced, they were not disowned.

However, the single burial context of the (in)famous dead was burdened with preserving their identity into perpetuity. Once an identity was known or discovered, there created a sense of responsibility to future-poof that identity and confirm their authenticity. Not only were there

hierarchies of touch segregating the living, but also hierarchies of touch centred on whether the identity of the deceased being handled was known or unknown.

PART 2: INSPECTING TOMBS

Railway companies often produced their own cathedral guidebooks for English cathedrals to encourage visitors to use their services (Morris, 1996, 1-2). It is these guidebooks which mention the contents of the bone house at Ripon (Anon, 1838, 63) and the relic cupboards (St Albans, 1815, 122-5; Stanley, 1911, 241) are available to the visitor, encouraging them to anticipate opportunities to handle human remains and excavated artefacts. Illustrated guidebooks of the 19th century often depict visitors closely inspecting and touching cathedral monuments (Fig.6.6-6.8) reflecting common practice and encouraging other visitors to do the same.

Liddell's (1897) guidebook to St Albans Cathedral expects visitors to enact his instructions as they move through his route of the cathedral. This includes kneeling, praying, reading epitaphs, and even brass rubbing at Thomas de La Mare's monument (Liddell, 1897, 29). This highly orchestrated, interactive guide encourages the reader to physically engage with the monuments of the dead rather than simply reading about them in his book. It is thus significant not only for its content but its delivery of a physical, experiential appreciation of the cathedral.

Fig.6.6. Canterbury Cathedral: The Black Prince's tomb. An adult male and a young female visitor inspect the tomb and its railings. (Unattributed engraving in Taylor, 1875, 371).

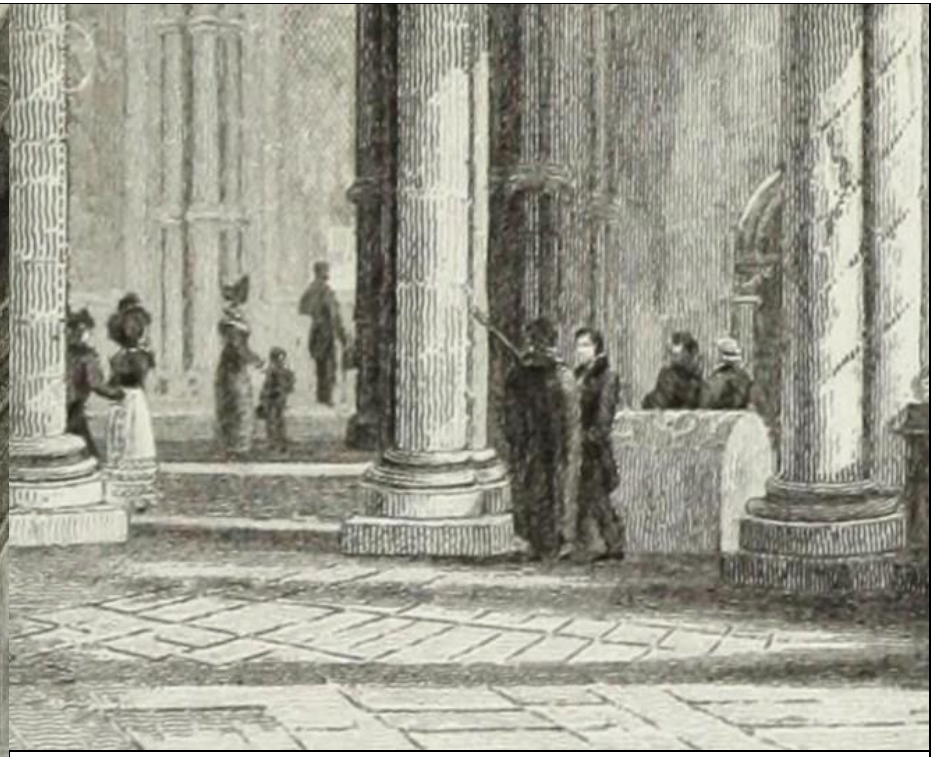
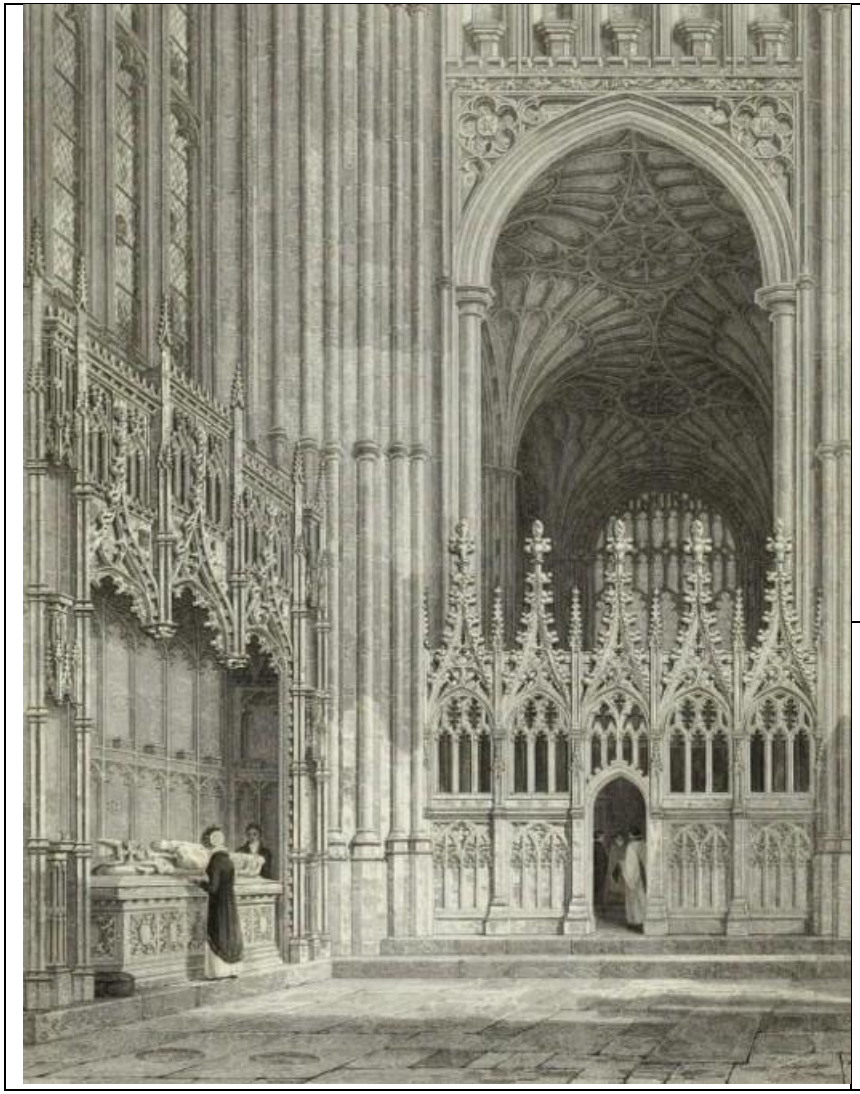


Fig.6.7. Canterbury Cathedral: a. Trinity Chapel and Corona; b. detail: note two visitors standing behind Odet de Coligny's barrel-roofed tomb with their hands on it. Also note the child with a female at the entrance to the Corona. (Engraving by J. Lambert in Britton, 1836, Plate X).



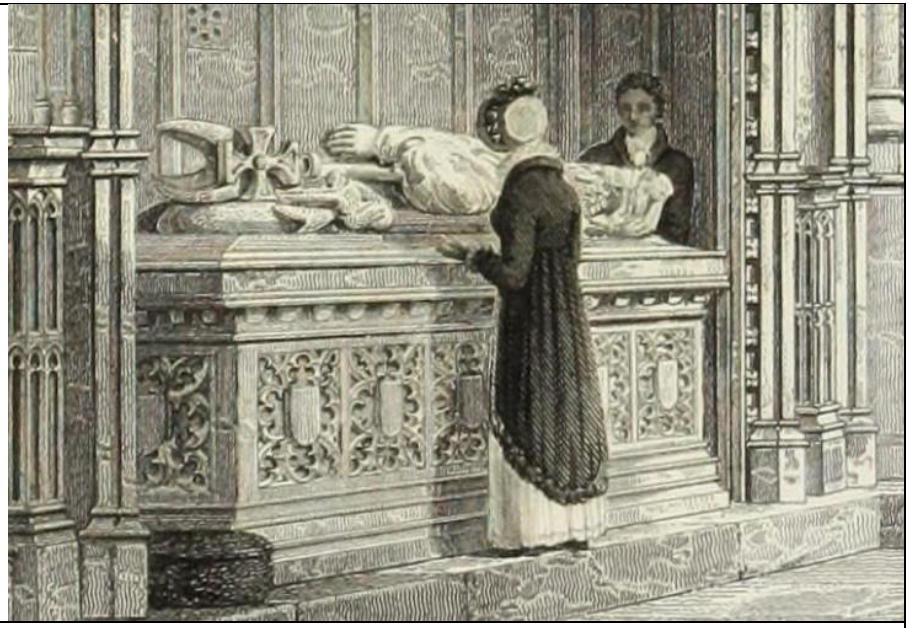


Fig.6.8. Canterbury Cathedral: North-west Transept: a. Archbishop Warham's tomb inspected by visitors; b. detail (Engraving by J. Le Beux in Britton, 1836, Plate VIII).

Haptic Erosion of Effigy Tombs

Encouragements to touch monuments found in guidebooks can be traced on extant monuments. During the course of this survey of cathedral monuments it became apparent that many had been eroded in certain areas from decades, even centuries, of people touching, stroking, or kissing effigies. This was bolstered by personal observations during the many hours spent photographing cathedral monuments. Despite the aforementioned touch-phobic culture of Britain and its neighbouring countries (Rodaway, 1999), many modern visitors were seen running their fingers over the features of effigies, often in what appeared to be an absent-minded state as they looked over the whole monument. On rare occasions visitors would briefly kiss effigies on the lips or touch the foreheads.

This analysis does not suggest that all haptic erosion and staining dates to the late modern period. Rather haptic inspection of tombs is examined within late modern visitor culture. This was not necessarily the defacement noted in the previous chapter. Instead, the analysis focuses on the areas of tombs, particularly effigial bodies, which have most attracted physical interaction.

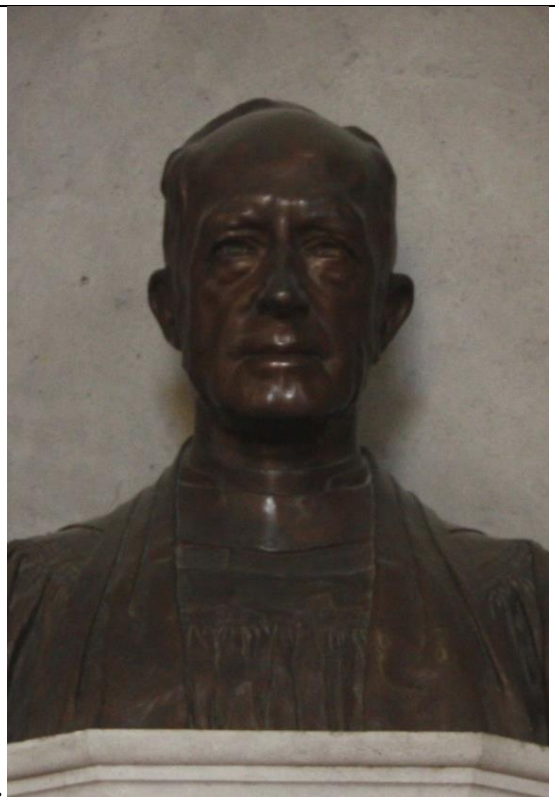
Of the 75 effigies available for study across the five cathedrals, 47 show signs of haptic erosion. A total of 284 sites of erosion were noted and Appendix 4 provides a breakdown of these effigies per cathedral. These effigies range from medieval to modern. It is not possible to date when the wear on these tombs began, other than recognising the date of their creation. What is noticeable is that 19th and 20th century effigies have received haptic erosion in a similar vein to their medieval and early modern counterparts. Tombs with heavy restoration (Courtenay tomb at Exeter; Chichele tomb at Canterbury) or too degraded to be analysed (Thomas and Eleanor

Markenfield at Ripon) were omitted. The lower survival and/or installation of effigial figures at Chester and St Albans clearly impact any analysis of wear. However, St Albans has a number of free-standing busts which have been affected by haptic erosion, and these are dealt with first.

Of the four free-standing busts at St Albans, two 20th-century metal versions have some minor erosion: Dean Walter Lawrance (d.1914; North Transept) and Bishop Michael Furze (d.1945; Retro Choir). Lawrance's is generally in excellent condition but his face is far darker, smoother and shinier than the rest of the bust (Fig.6.9). Similarly, Furze's face is darker and shinier except for his eyes which do not seem to have been affected (Fig.6.9). Both busts are mounted in out-of-reach areas, so this erosion is unlikely to be casual. Rather cathedral cleaning practices are probably the cause. These busts serve as a reminder that not all haptic erosion is caused by visitors. Any number of the effigies analysed herein may have been partially worn by various types of cleaning over the centuries.

Returning to the effigies, scope, location and frequency of touch was collated across all 47 effigies and presented as a heat map in Figure 6.10. The nose, hands, lips, eyes, and chin were most commonly worn, followed by the forehead, cheeks, and legs/feet. Facial features were clearly the most affected areas, totalling 123 sites from the 47 effigies. Hands were also frequently affected. Hands and noses were the most commonly targeted body parts for touch.

a.



b.

c.

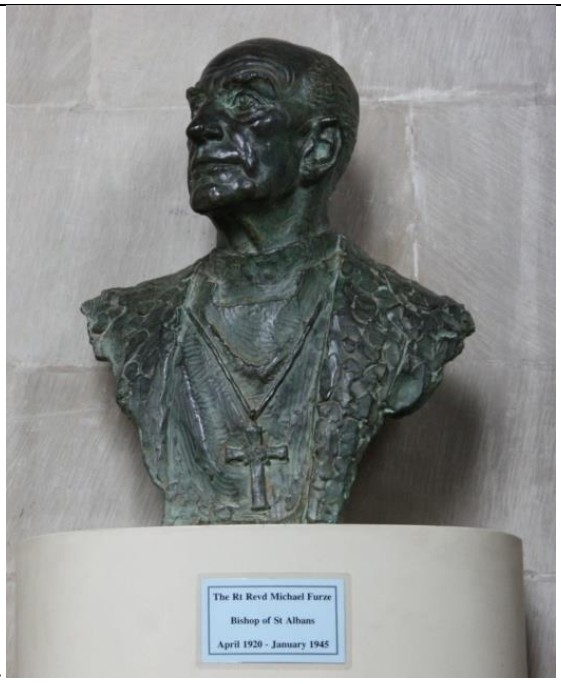


Fig.6.9. St Albans Cathedral: metal busts which have particularly shiney and stained faces due to the emphasis on cleaning the face. None of these are within reach of visitors.

a. + b. Dean Walter Lawrance (d.1914; North Transept

c. Bishop Michael Furze (d.1945; Retro Choir)

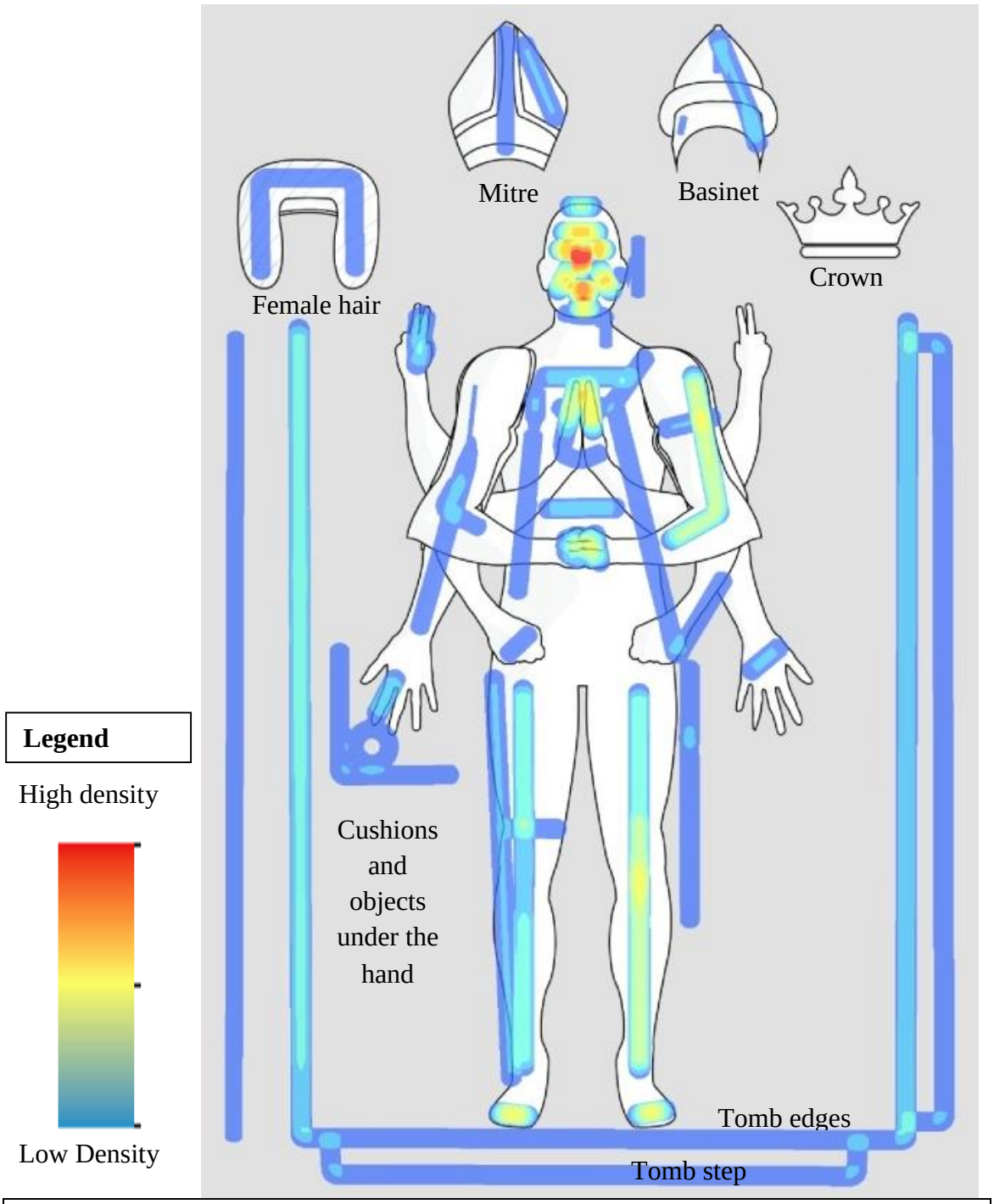


Fig.6.10. Heat map of haptic erosion: mild (pale blue) to dense (red).

This is comparable with the findings of iconoclastic damage in the previous chapter. Other features, however, were more commonly damaged by haptic erosion than iconoclasm. For

example, eyes were rarely targeted by iconoclasts but are the third most commonly touched body part in this sample. The lips, chin, and cheeks are also represented more frequently worn than mutilated. Other areas, such as the forehead, ears, facial hair and throat, which did not receive iconoclasm in this dataset, have been worn by repeated touching. Figures 6.11-6.14 provide prominent examples of areas targeted for by haptic engagements.

However, not all examples of erosion relate to touching the monument. Two of the three effigies on the Holland Tomb (Canterbury: St Michael's chapel) were worn and these were the only principle effigies in St Michael's chapel to suggest haptic erosion. The left leg of the Earl of Somerset, which is adjacent to the north edge of the tomb, has residues of graffiti which have been heavily and deliberately worn in order to remove it (Fig. 5.43 in previous chapter). This appears to be a restoration or cleaning practice potentially using wire brushes or a similar abrasive. The scratch marks along his legs, the pale colour of the stone, and the faint traces of what would have been deeply incised graffiti all point towards an erosive procedure. Nonetheless, given the long history of haptic interactions with mortuary monuments it is unsurprising that many effigies bear evidence of this. Thus conservation practices, such as cleaning and making minor repairs, are also forms of haptic interaction with potential to censor previous interventions.

There is an aesthetic appeal as well. The tactility promised by certain features of the sculpture, such as the long loose folds of sleeves or the rounded, bulbous tips of shoes, also generate touch. Stones such as marble, granite and alabaster which become highly polished as a result of

frequent touch may also attract further wear because of the effect of haptic erosion. Thus fossilised touch can attract future touch and certain effigies or body parts become hot spots.

a.

b.

Fig.6.11. Canterbury Cathedral: The voluminous sleeve of Archbishop Tait (d.1882) shows signs of haptic staining: a. detail of sleeve b.tomb

a.

b.

c.

d.

Fig.6.12. Canterbury Cathedral a. The Black Prince has a black patina from repeated touch; b.+ c. animals at the foot of the Holland tomb are worn; d. King Henry VI's lips, nose, beard, temple and the area below his eye are also worn.

Fig.6.13. Exeter Cathedral: Valentine Carey's fingers and nose show signs of wear.

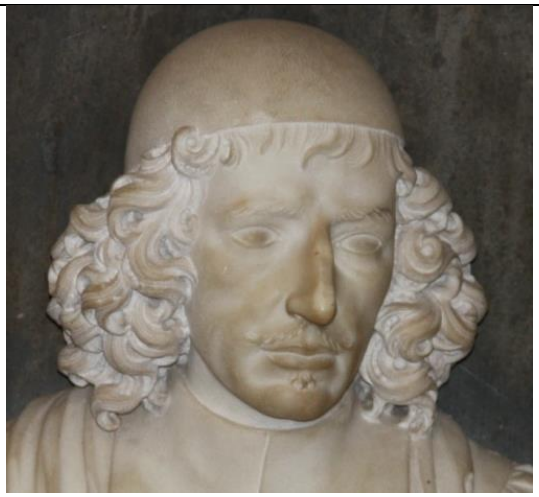


Fig.6.14. Exeter Cathedral: The nose, lip, and chin of Edward Cotton's (d.1695) wall memorial effigy are clearly worn. The memorial is at approximately chest height.

Of the 47 effigies with haptic erosion 22 also bore evidence of iconoclasm. However, of the 284 sites of erosion noted on principle effigial bodies, only 30 (10.5%) were mutilated by iconoclasm. This means body parts mutilated by iconoclasm could attract repeated touch, but only a small number were affected. Rather than being spread over a variety of effigies, the erosion of iconoclastic sites appeared multiple times on a small group of effigies as outlined in Appendix 4.

Unsurprisingly, the main body part receiving both iconoclastic and haptic damage is the nose (12 of the 16 effigies listed). The analysis of iconoclastic body parts showed hands as the primary target for iconoclasts, with noses a secondary target. However, haptic erosion seems to have favoured noses rather than hands. The severance point of hands and limbs was also commonly worn as well as hands which had been mutilated but not removed. Four effigies also had their damaged lips eroded. Unlike the iconoclastic evidence, where lips were collateral damage when the nose was broken, the wearing down of lips appears to be a separate event from the wear on noses. This is because the area between the lips and nose is usually untouched, suggesting people were not touching both nose and lips at the same time, but targeting them individually, potentially kissing the effigy's lips.

The barriers surrounding some of the eroded effigies have inadvertently orchestrated which areas of the body were worn. At Canterbury the copper-gilt effigy of the Black Prince is worn black where there are gaps between the original railings (Geddes, 1981, 66). Henry VI's effigy is heavily worn and stained compared to Joan's effigy, presumably because Henry is next to the viewing platform whereas she is only accessed via the roped-off area of Trinity Chapel. Again,

the railings have not prevented people touching the effigy. The effigies in St Michael's Chapel at Canterbury show almost no signs of wear. Since this chapel is traditionally locked, it is unsurprising that there is little damage. Tomb edges and corners are also often heavily stained, worn and chipped from visitors leaning against them or children pulling themselves up by standing on the plinth.

What haptic erosion of effigial monuments suggests is multi-layered. First, that the exposed body was frequently explored by touch not just sight. Second, barriers were not necessarily obstacles to touch, but simply orchestrated haptic encounters. Third, mutilated bodies were also subjected to frequent physical exploration. Fourth, effigies were treated in a similar manner to venerated human remains.

Fifth, that the Reformation did not stop people stroking and touching effigies, as evidenced by the 19th century date of many of these monuments. While modern encounters may be academic rather than venerative, there is undoubtedly a generous overlap between these two concepts. Modern visitors may kiss or genuflect on effigies and pre-Reformation visitors would have also touched effigies out of curiosity, the tactile promise of certain sculptural features, and the myriad ways in which humans process and confirm the physical world through touch.

Sixth, just as heads could be selected for separate veneration in pre-Reformation cathedrals, so the heads and faces of effigies received concerted haptic attention. Seventh, unlike the early anxieties about seeing the naked bones of the special dead, the rise of the effigy monument played an important middle-ground in haptic mortuary practices. Although not designed solely to

fill a gap in the market between shrines and human remains, clearly a symptom or by-product of the effigy tomb was the happy medium it struck between 'exposing' the dead above ground while covering the decaying body within or beneath it. It also provided a locus for physical interaction to take place, which would attract donations and maintain the memory of the dead.

Modern Interaction with Tombs

Haptic encounters with the cathedral dead did not end with the 19th century. There are many present-day examples of physical interaction with mortuary monuments inside the cathedrals. Crucially, many of these echo the tactile, tangible encounters with saints already discussed in this thesis, despite these examples occurring, even orchestrated, in Protestant cathedrals.

Canterbury Cathedral

On the south side of the Corona is the 20th century kneeling effigy tomb of Archbishop Temple. The tomb plinth has two open niches, aping medieval shrine pedestals. Closer inspection reveals these have haptic erosion on the ledges and there are dark brown stains immediately inside the niches (Fig.6.15). This indicates 20th and 21st century visitors have been kneeling down to put their hands, arms, and possibly their heads inside this cenotaph (Temple's cremains are buried in the cloister garth). The heavy rusting and staining of his effigy's cloak edge may have been partly caused by people pulling themselves upright from kneeling in front of the niches.

Exeter Cathedral

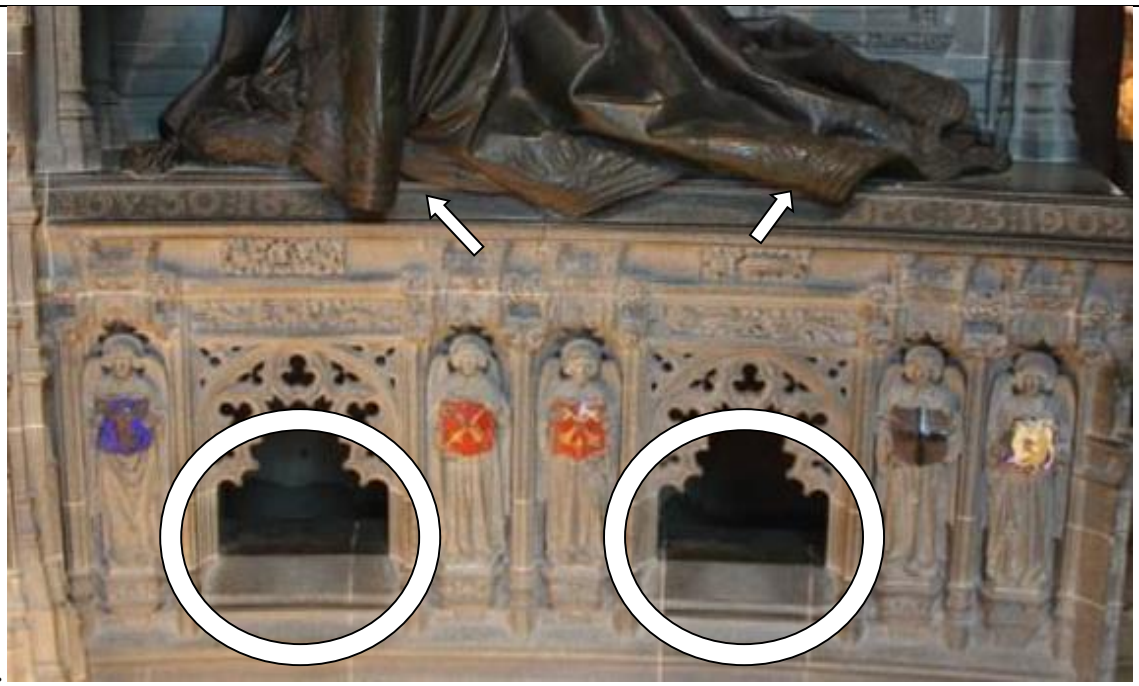
At Exeter cathedral, the two earliest effigy monuments lie in the two niches of the south side of the Lady Chapel. These were re-discovered and deposited here in 1822 (Oliver, 1861, 190-1).

The tomb attributed to Bishop Leofric (d.1072), the founding bishop of Exeter (although it is probably Bishop Bartholomew Icarus d.1184) has since accumulated collections of written prayers, photographs, flowers and votive candles (Fig.5.16). A modern Madonna and Child statuette has also been placed on a plinth above the tomb (Fig.5.16), which is an unusual image for a protestant church. A large metal candelabrum has also been installed in front of the tomb so visitors can light a candle in front of the bishop and Madonna and Child. The corresponding effigy of Bishop Simon Apulia (d.1223) to the west of Icarus has no votives. In St George's Chapel (Speke Chapel), collections of piled pebbles on a large slate were placed next to Speke's effigy tomb (Fig.6.16). A basket of more pebbles had been provided nearby for visitors to add their own.

Chester Cathedral

At Chester cathedral, a station for writing prayers has been set-up next to St Werburgh's shrine. A bouquet of flowers had been left by the prayer station on the day it was photographed (Fig.6.17-6.18). Inside the shrine is a small figurine of St Werburgh was donated by John Broome in memory of his parents in 1992 (Fig.6.17). The Mother's Union have also set-up a banner next to the shrine (Fig.6.17), aligning themselves with the long-standing tradition of St Werburgh's sensitivity to female and child petitioners, particularly pregnant women. A laminated prayer is affixed to a low wooden railing at the east end of the shrine, for visitors to use the shrine as a focal point for prayer (Fig.6.17-6.18). A flower arrangement is inside the facing niche which petitioners would originally have placed their heads inside. In the north transept, a modern donation box has been placed next to Bishop Pearson's Victorian effigy tomb (Fig.6.18).

a.



b.

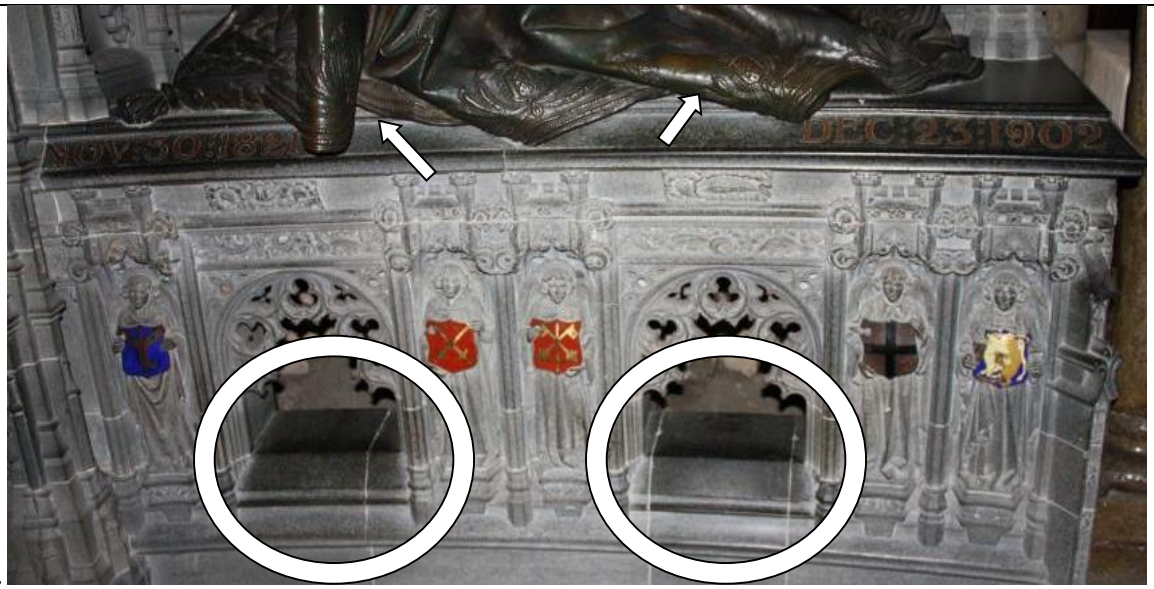


Fig.6.15 Canterbury Cathedral: Corona: Two apertures in the plinth of Archbishop Temple's effigy tomb (cenotaph) the edge and interior of which is stained a darker colour, presumably from repeated touch. Photographed with (a.) and without (b.) flash. The staining from repeated touch is more visible in the above photo, while a degree of wear is apparent in the lower photo. Also note the haptic erosion of Temple's hem indicated by the arrows.

a.

b.

c.

Fig. 6.16 Exeter Cathedral

a. Bishop 'Leofric' with Madonna and a collection of votives.

b. Bishop Apulia immediately west of 'Leofric' has no votives.

c. Speke's effigy with votive pebbles.

Ripon Cathedral

A medieval bas-relief of Christ rising from his tomb has been placed in the Wilfridian crypt's *confessio* niche as a new focal point for visitors (Fig.6.19). A gate in the southern entrance was donated in 1972 by the Royal Engineers corps to commemorate the cathedral's 1300 anniversary (Fig.6.19). The Needle has now been blocked with a perspex screen to prevent further attempts to crawl through (probably installed when the crypt was briefly made a Treasure House in the 1970s) (Fig.6.19). The ledge of the Needle in the main chamber is heavily worn and stained brown from people touching it, despite the recent whitewashing Fig.6.19). The 'lion tomb' in the south nave aisle is still dressed as an Easter Sepulchre (Fig.6.19). As a protective measure, wooden benches have been placed around the 14th-century Markenfield tomb to hinder access.

St Albans Cathedral

Elements of St Amphibalus' shrine have haptic erosion. Since the shrine seems to have been cleaned at some point since its rediscovery in 1872 the staining and wear is probably from visitors since the late 19th century handling the re-constructed shrine (Fig.6.20). Fragments of the *mensa* or stone base of St Alban's 12th century shrine, upon which the feretory sat, have been turned into a modern altar for the Chapel of the Persecuted in the north transept (Fig.6.20), continuing its use as a physical feature for intercession.

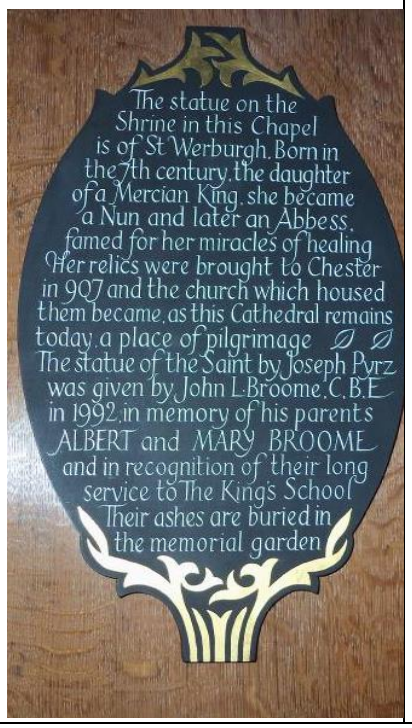
The later reconstructed shrine of St Alban in Saint's Chapel is ornamented with large professional flower arrangements (Fig.6.21). Unlike St Amphibalus' shrine, St Alban's shrine is railed off from public access with wooden kneeling benches which allow visitors to pray at the shrine without touching it (Fig.6.21). A modern reconstruction of the canopy sits over the top of

the shrine, and inside the shrine is the reputed scapula of St Alban since 2002 when it was donated by the cathedral of Cologne (Juggins, 2009). The edges of the empty stone sarcophagus of the two 12th century hermits, Sigar and Roger, in the south nave aisle are heavily stained (Fig.6.22). Of the two stacked stone sarcophagi in the south presbytery aisle, the upper one also has heavy staining and erosion along the edge closest to the visitor (Fig.6.22).

Modern Catholic worshippers still touch and kiss reliquaries of more recently canonised individuals (Fig. 6.23). While the Protestant cathedrals discussed in this chapter do not house saints, there is a clear emphasis in modern haptic engagements with the tombs and shrines of both Catholic and Protestant individuals. Some examples may be the response of Catholic visitors to the cathedrals. Others, such as the pebbles at Speke's tomb in Exeter Cathedral, and the prayer railings or written prayers at the shrines of St Alban and St Werburgh, reveal how the cathedral clergy and staff are open and encouraging of more formal physical encounters with their mortuaryscape. Thus the stereotype of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' forms of touch (i.e. venerative versus clinical) argued amongst 19th century commentators of museum visitors, and more recent scholarship on pre- and post-Reformation church environments (Aston, 2003), does not sit well in these cathedral contexts.

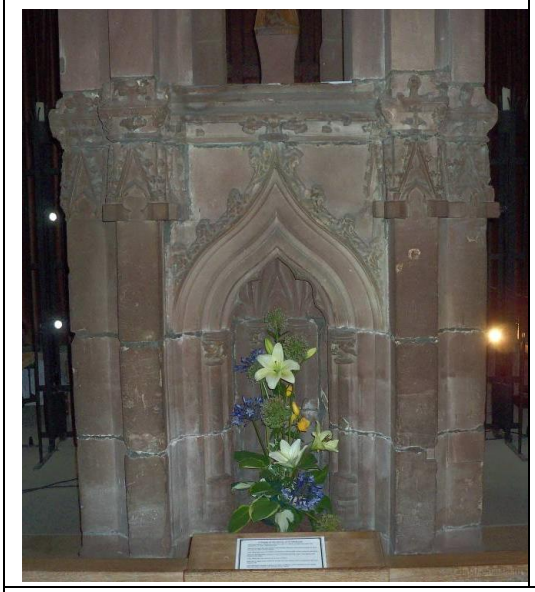
a.

b.



c.

d.



e.

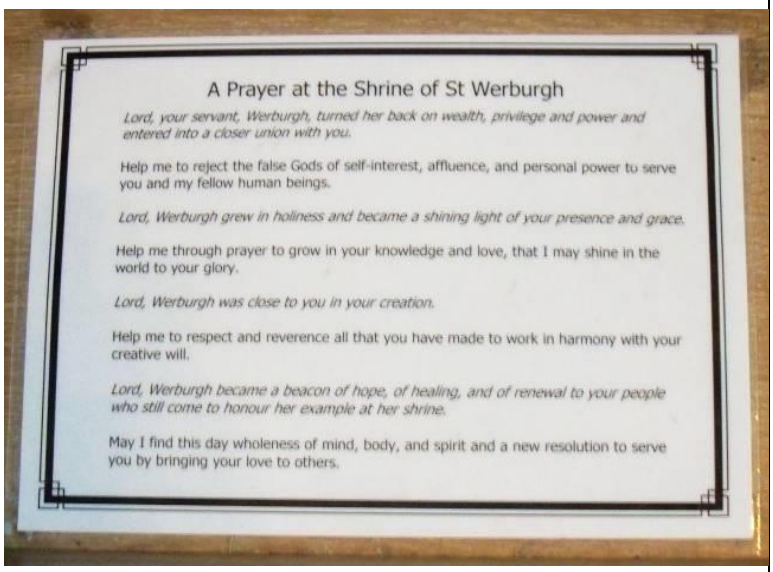


Fig. 6.17 Chester Cathedral a. Mother's Union banner on the northern side of the shrine; b. commemorative plaque to the Broome's north of the shrine; c. figurine of St Werburgh inside the shrine; d. east end of the shrine with flower display and prayer; e. prayer close up.

a.

b.

c.

Fig. 6. 18 Chester Cathedral: a. North transept: Bishop Pearson's Victorian tomb with donation box on south side; b. flowers next to prayer station on the wall at the entrance to Werburgh's shrine; c. shrine of St Werburgh with banner, figurine and low railing in context.

a.

b

c.

d

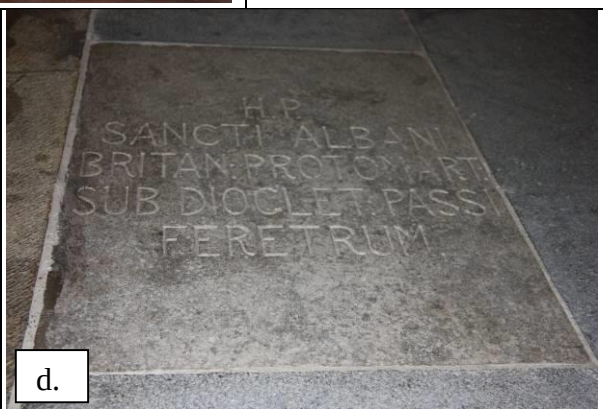
e.

Fig.6.19 Ripon Cathedral: a. bas-relief of Christ emerging from his tomb installed in the niche left by the blocked crypt *confessio* aperture; b. plaque at the southern entrance to the crypt marking the 1972 gates; c. Wilfrid's Needle from the northern corridor; d. Wilfrid's Needle from inside the main chamber with Perspex screen. Note the dark staining and wear on the ledge; e. South nave aisle: the 'Lion tomb' dressed as an Easter Sepulchre in 2013.

a.

b.

c.



d.

Fig.6.20 St Albans Cathedral: a. north choir aisle: St Amphibalus' shrine with haptic erosion and staining on the original fragment of the right pillar; b. + c. North transept: modern *spolia* using fragments of St Alban's shrine *mensa* as an altar.

Fig.6.21 St Albans Cathedral: St Alban's reconstructed shrine and red canopy with floral displays and kneeling railings showing signs of staining and wear (arrows)

a.

b.

c.

Fig.6.22. St Albans Cathedral: a. ‘Tomb of the Hermits’; b. stone sarcophagus in the ‘tomb’ with heavy wear and staining on the northern and southern edges possibly from people climbing in and out of it; c. surviving inscription from above the original tomb.

Fig.6.23 Worshippers physically interacting with the relics of St. Thérèse of Lisieux (d.1897) during her tour of Britain in 2009. Photos taken at St Joseph's, Gerrards Cross, Diocese of Northampton (Catholic Church of England and Wales, 2009).

Conclusion: Physical Inspection of Tombs

Guidebooks offered the edited highlights of the cathedral and its monuments, connecting the visitor with the visible mortuaryscape and the burials they could not see or access. The publication of epitaphs in many guidebooks meant the book separated out reading practices from physical encounters with the tomb or displaced bones. Yet this sighted experience was accompanied by encouragements to touch as the guidebook directed the reader to handling collections in relic cupboards or charnel displays and brass rubbings of tombs. The inclusion of illustrations with visitors physically inspecting tombs sanctioned this practice for the cathedral visitor. While guidebooks could act as a substitute for visiting the cathedral, offering a purely visual experience, they could also act as catalysts for a multi-sensory experience of the building and its mortuaryscape.

Motivations for haptic erosion and staining of effigies are legion. They include (but are not limited to) the aesthetics and tactility of the sculpture; veneration of or respect for the dead; and exploratory touch to confirm and understand what is being looked at. This erosion is not easily dated, but effigies installed since the 18th century also show signs of wear and staining, indicating it was on-going in the late modern period and continues today.

Many tombs, particularly effigies, have been subjected to cycles and repetitions of touch which have eroded and/or stained the stone. The most commonly targeted areas are facial features, particularly the nose, eyes, and mouth. These are the identifying features of any human body. Although few pre-Reformation effigies were portraits (Saul, 2009, 143), the face appeals to touch for several reasons. First, the nose rises out of the horizontal plane of the face, as do hands raised in prayer and shoe tips. These breaks in the recumbency of the supine effigy puncture the linearity of the tableaux. To echo Panofsky (1992, 73-80), they

activate the effigy by standing proud of the rest of the body. These upright features may attract touch from the visitor because they are vertical and exist in a slightly different spatial plane to the rest of the effigy.

Second, facial features were often mutilated by iconoclasm and there are notable examples of haptic erosion around damaged noses, hands, and wrists, as well as graffiti. The desire to reach out and touch these areas; to feel the raw, rough edges of the broken stone, is to physically connect with what *appears* to be the last point of contact with the effigy: the iconoclast's blade. It may also reference a desire to touch patina, asymmetries and blemishes because of, or instead of, an awareness that iconoclasm has caused the damage. Not only is touching the exposed interior of the stone a way of experiencing the intimate, unseen 'insides' of the effigy, but it also allows the visitor to physically trace past moments of historic touch as well, such as iconoclasm.

In many ways, this is similar to the early museum visitors putting on or carrying around archaeological artefacts: to connect with the '(last) person from the past' who wore or held or defaced it. It is about the visitor physically experiencing the sedimentation of historic touch with the fingers or lips and in doing so, adding their own stratum of erosion or staining, as if their fingers or lips have met the fingers or lips of past people. The effigy, then, is both a recipient of touch in its own right and also a (literal) touchstone for the living to physically experiences the actions of other persons from other times and places.

Thirdly, the facial features are some of the most detailed sculpture on the effigy. It is curious how effigial eyes and lips – which were not common targets for iconoclasts – have dense amounts of haptic evidence. These are particularly sensitive areas of the human body and

require delicate, soft touch to avoid pain or discomfort on a living recipient. Touching eyes and lips of an effigy is a way of feeling parts of the body that are rarely exposed to exploratory touch. They are also squashy, pliant areas of the face, and touching them may be a way of testing their resistance because they can look so life-like. This may be a way of confirming they are stone despite their plush, soft appearance. Having personally witnessed modern-day visitors kissing the lips and foreheads of effigies, this may be one of the many other ways in which eyes and lips have become stained and eroded. The aesthetic appeal cannot be discounted either: the bulbous eyes and curvature of the lips offer a sensual, tactile experience.

Physical encounters with tombs are not just about direct hand or mouth contact with an effigy or shrine, but also the deposition of items at a monument. During my research at these cathedrals, a common interpretation of this act by the depositors and the supervising vergers was that it 'left a piece of myself behind', as if the item would continue as an extension of the visitor's will to interact with whatever Divine or supernatural authority they attributed to the tomb. It also created a continuing physical presence of the absent visitor, even though only the visitor may be aware of its presence or be able to interpret the significance of their act. The spatial disconnection which would inevitably happen once they walked away from the monument was somehow bridged by leaving a 'piece of themselves' behind. This might be through a kiss, graffiti, pebbles, flowers, lit candles, written prayers, or any number of objects they selected.

PART 3: DISCONNECTED BURIALS AND MONUMENTS

If the spatial disconnection between visitor and tomb could be (temporarily) bridged by leaving their touch or a physical item behind, then the spatial disconnection between certain types of memorials and burials may also reveal strategies of reconnection which employed the visitor.

Cathedral Monuments: trends since the mid/late 19th century

As Figure 6.24 shows, there is a clear but expected bias towards post-Reformation monuments in the dataset, particularly during the 17th to 20th centuries. The 21st century range is not (yet) representative of the century. Even the 16th-18th centuries are most probably under-represented given the great clearance and rebuilding campaigns of the mid/late 19th century. What we are left with is essentially a 19th and 20th century mortuaryscape, with some initial 21st-century contributions, and ever decreasing numbers of surviving monuments the further back in time we go.

The pre-16th century cathedral mortuaryscape was largely horizontal; recumbent effigies, floor monuments and brasses dominated, with the occasional chest tomb alongside them. However, the 16th century saw the vertical planes of the cathedral incorporated into the mortuaryscape on an unprecedented scale (Llewellyn, 2000, 368–70). Elevation was prioritised through wall memorials, upright effigies and busts, and then windows in the 19th century.

Fig.6.24 Extant Mortuary Monuments by Cathedral

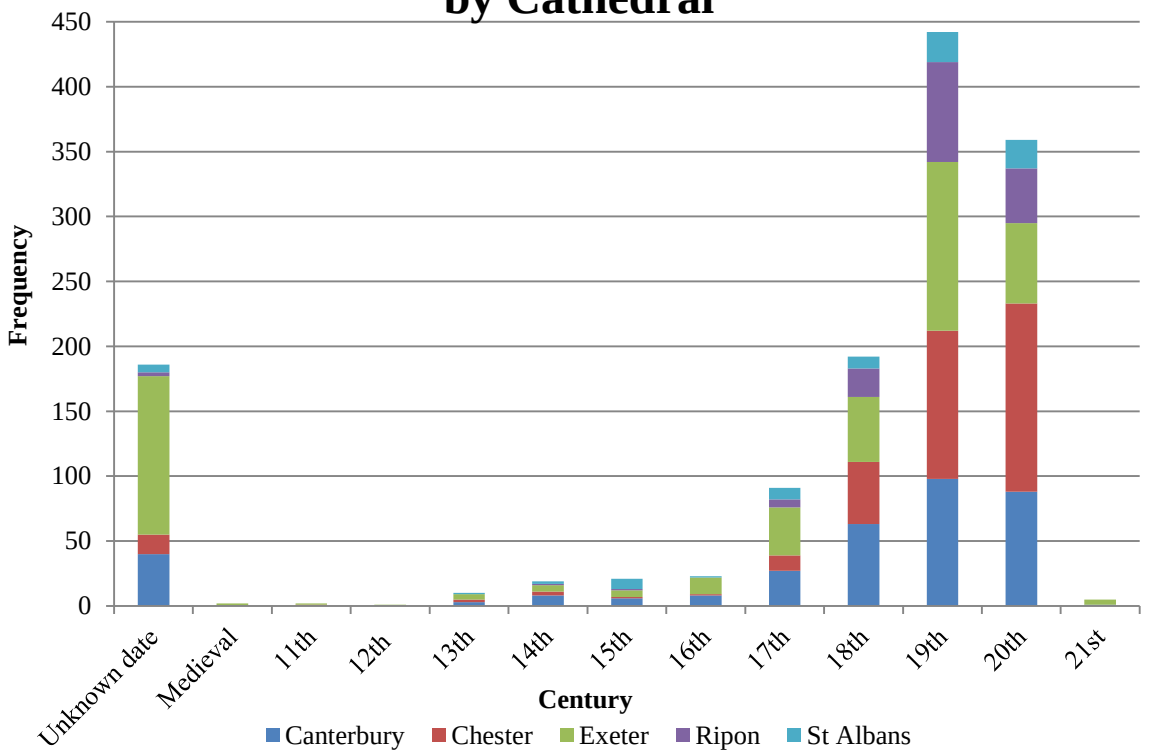
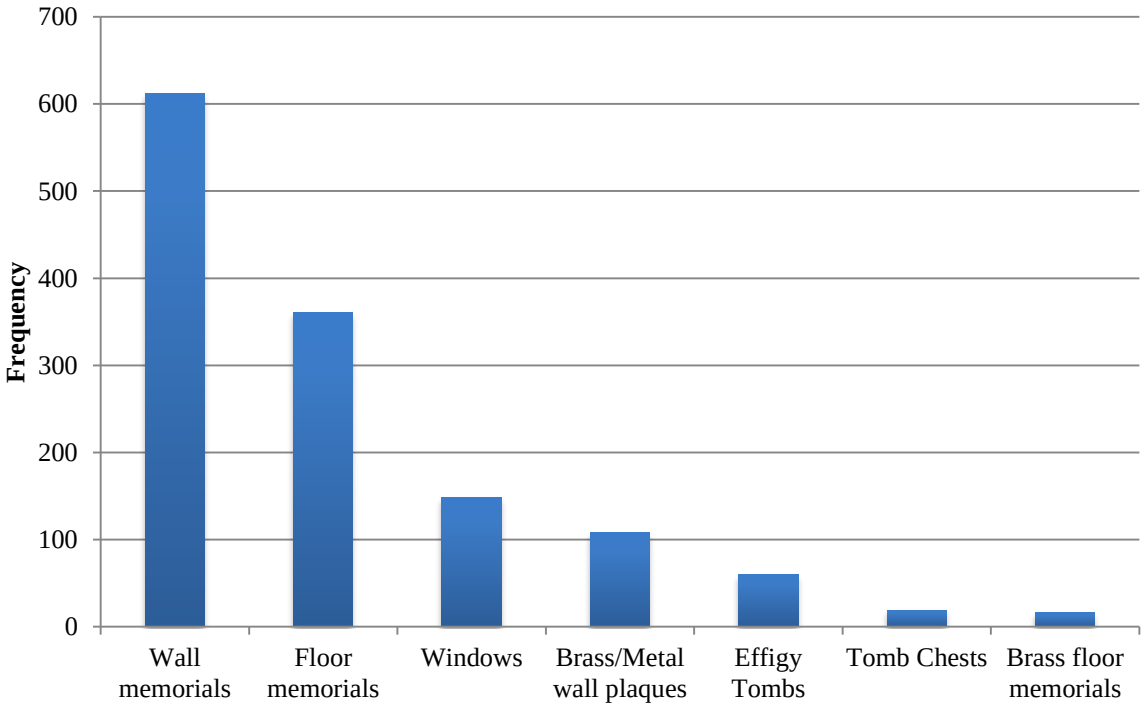


Fig.6.25 Frequency of the most common extant mortuary monuments

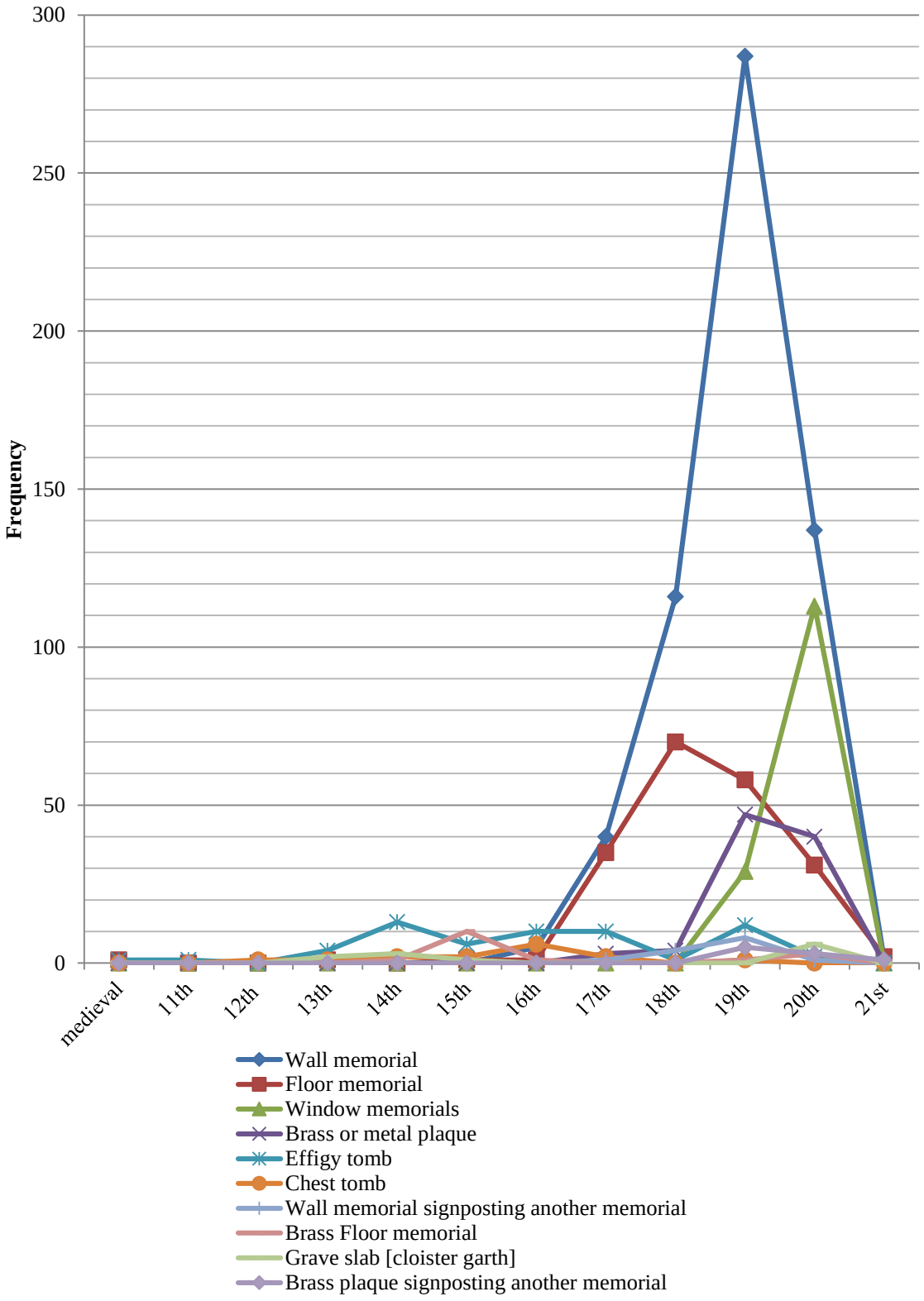


Windows and Signpost Memorials

This has shaped the modern cathedral mortuaryscape, which is dominated by wall and floor memorials rather than tombs and brasses (Fig. 6.25 and 6.26). Window memorials emerge in the 19th century and are the only memorial type which rises in frequency in the 20th century, when all the other types begin to fall in number. This pattern is affected by the 99 commemorative window panes commissioned for the restoration of Chester cathedral's semi-ruined cloisters in the 1920s (Fry, 2009, 41). However, it is also indicative of the pragmatic nature of 20th-century interior commemoration. Repairs, remodelling, and new fixtures, windows, and furniture became popular commemorative alternatives to traditional monuments. This was a way for cathedrals to kill two birds with one stone in an age where monuments were paid for by the cathedral and their 'Friends' societies. It also means these memorials are less likely to be destroyed as inconveniences since they fulfil practical duties as furniture (e.g. chairs and pews) or are part of the building's structural integrity (e.g. remodelling, repairs and new windows). Whether 20th-century commemorative media will outlast their predecessors because of this, remains to be seen.

Signposting was required since the actual commemorative work (e.g. windows, repairs etc.) may not be an obvious memorial and may not contain any explanatory text. This saw the emergence of wall plaques used to signpost that the building work was commemorative (Figs 6.27-6.29). While burials and memorials had a history of being spatially separated using cenotaphs or wall memorials, now a commemorative event (e.g. repaired ceiling, purchase of chairs, installation of new window etc.) was disconnected from the traditional mortuaryscape of obvious memorials. The signpost monument attempts to bridge the spatial gap by pointing the reader to the 'real' memorial, and provide some commentary on the deceased and sometimes the context of the work.

Fig.6.26 Extant Cathedral Mortuary Monument Types Over Time



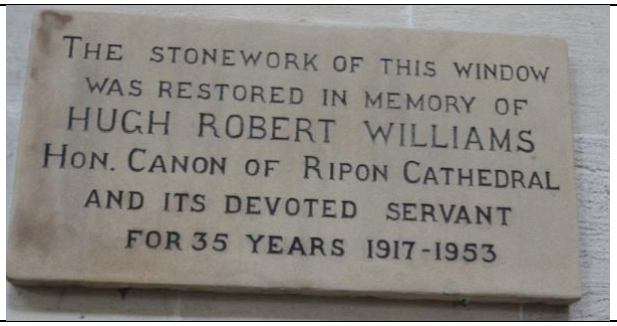


Fig..6.27. Signpost at Ripon Cathedral: Restoration in memory of an individual

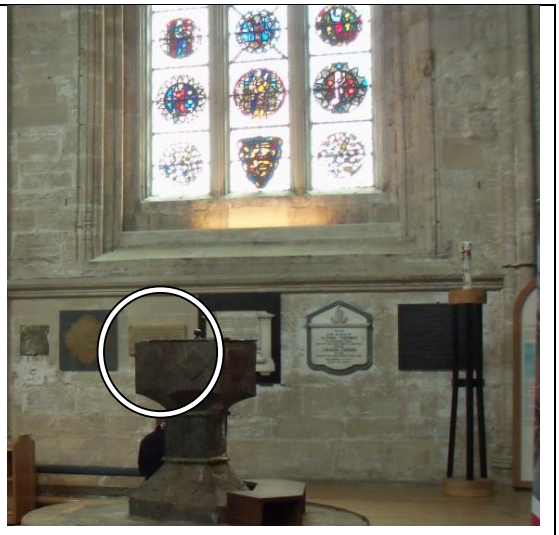


Fig. 6.28. Signpost at Exeter Cathedral: Window installed for corporate commemoration of conflict

Fig. 6.29. Signpost at Chester Cathedral: refectory west wall. Restoration and window for an individual

Fixtures and Furniture

Chest tombs and monumental brasses have made occasional appearances since the 19th century, but are subsumed within the most expansive range of commemorative media the English cathedral has ever seen (examples in Fig.6.30). Ships' bells, aeroplane propellers, aumbries, and sundry art works are just a few of the new items which have been commissioned to commemorate the dead in the 20th and early 21st century cathedral. No longer is the cathedral mortuaryscape beholden to the limited range of monument types which have long populated it. This is partly because modern monuments are not expected to fit over a grave or even mark one, so they have been liberated from being a certain size and shape.

Corporate commemoration of military regiments and their respective cohorts who died during or as a result of conflict began to emerge in the late 19th century. During the Second Boer War in South Africa (1899–1902), the British Empire established the custom of burying its soldiers, all conscripts, in individual graves (see Parkhouse, 2015). This was matched by individually commemorating the officers on wall memorials, and later, complete lists of war dead. War monuments were necessarily created on an unprecedented size to facilitate extensive lists of numerous individuals (Fig.6.31 and Fig. 6.32). Regimental flags carried in battle were also sent for display in the new regimental chapel, where they decay *in situ* (Fig.6.31).

a.

b.

c.

d.

f.

e.

Fig.6.30. New Forms of 20th century conflict commemoration. a. **Chester:** display table for H.M.S. Chester; b. Chairs in south transept side chapels; c. RAF propeller; d. **Exeter:** bell of H.M.S. Exeter engraved inside bell lip; e. **Chester:** south transept: **WWI +WWII** aumbries stand opposite each other with books of remembrance; f. **Exeter:** Perspex memorials.

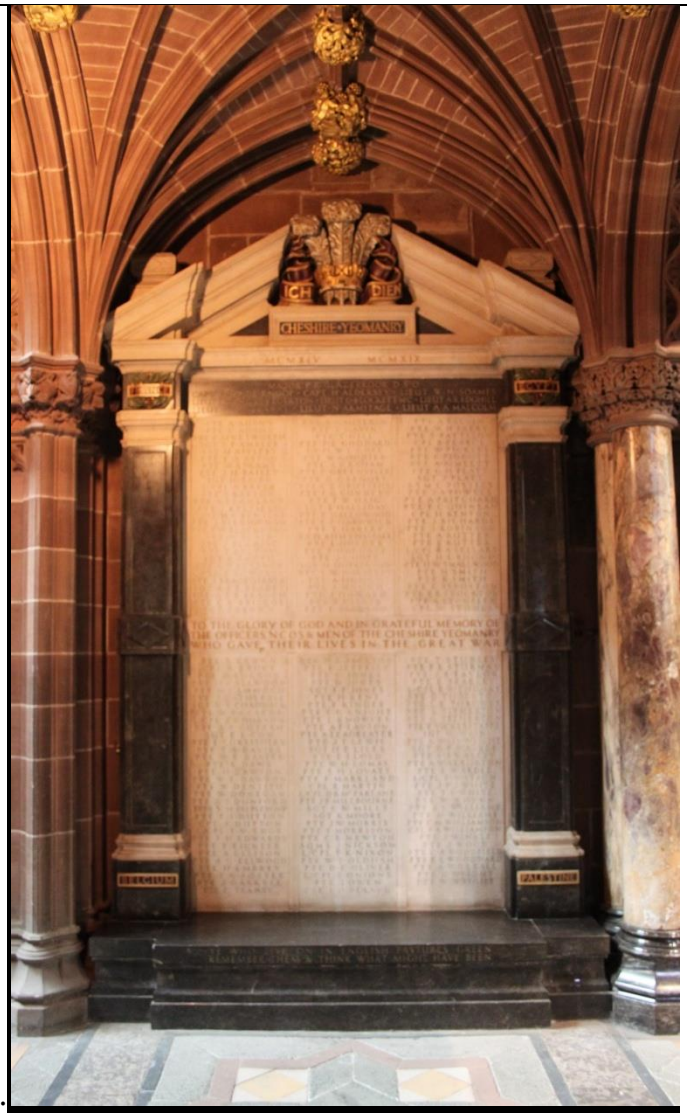
a. 

Fig.6.31. Late 19th and early 20th century war memorials took on new, massive proportions: a. **Chester cathedral:** north crossing, east wall: Cheshire Yeomanry WWI monument (1919). Lists 186 names;

b. **Exeter cathedral**: north nave aisle, north wall: 9th Queens Royal Lancers, service in India (1860). Lists 116 names. Note the regimental flags installed above it.

b. 

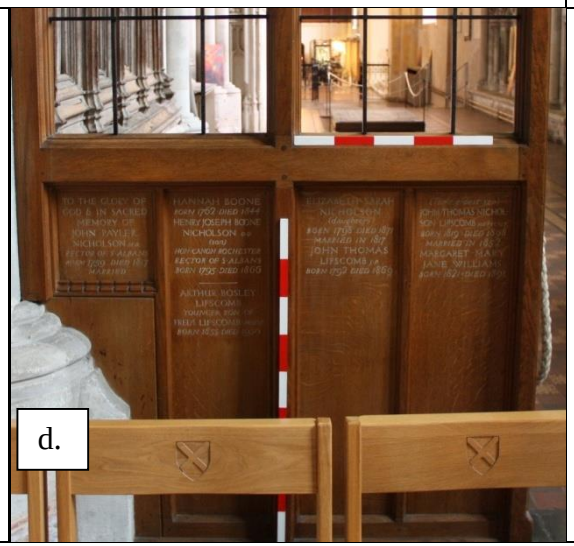
a.

b.

Fig.6.32. 20th-century panel memorials. a + b: **Ripon:** wall running the length of the east end of the building. Various conflicts commemorated starting with WWI;

c.- e. **St Albans:** wooden screens enclosing the retro-choir. Commemorates various members of the Lipscomb family since 1899; organists, cathedral surveyor, (minor) clergy and family.

c.



d.

e.

Wall Memorials

Wall memorials, as a specific type of commemoration, flourished in England from the mid-16th century onwards (Llewellyn, 2000, 369). The increased height of church furniture in the 16th century, particularly the high-backed pews, boxed pews and pulpits, coupled with a general lack of available floor space, gave rise to the wall memorial in Britain (Llewellyn, 2000, 239-42, 369).

The wall memorial, however, has no direct spatial relationship with the human remains of the deceased. This places it in direct contrast with the floor slab, floor brass or chest-tomb, or the external churchyard headstone, which were at least meant to imply human remains lay beneath, even if that was no longer (or had never been) the case. Wall memorials make no such inferences. However, there is substantial evidence for a range of strategies used by memorial commissioners to link the wall memorial with the burial site of the deceased commemorated.

The most obvious strategy was to specify directions to the burial site. These instructions usually prefix or append the wall memorial epitaph and can range from the common but vague 'Nearby lies the body of…', 'Near this place lies the body of…' and 'Underneath lie the body of…' to more specific directions (Fig.6.33). For example, at Chester Cathedral, the wall memorial of spouses William and Anne Ward (d.1887 and 1826) states: "Their remains are interred in St Mary's Chapel in this cathedral'. Similarly, William Considine's memorial (Chester: d.1836) reads: 'In the cloisters of this cathedral rest the mortal remains of…'. A brass wall memorial to Eliza Disney and her two daughters, currently affixed to the entrance southern entrance of St Werburgh's shrine, encourages the reader to locate their "mortal remains… [beneath] three incised marbles in the sanctuary floor".

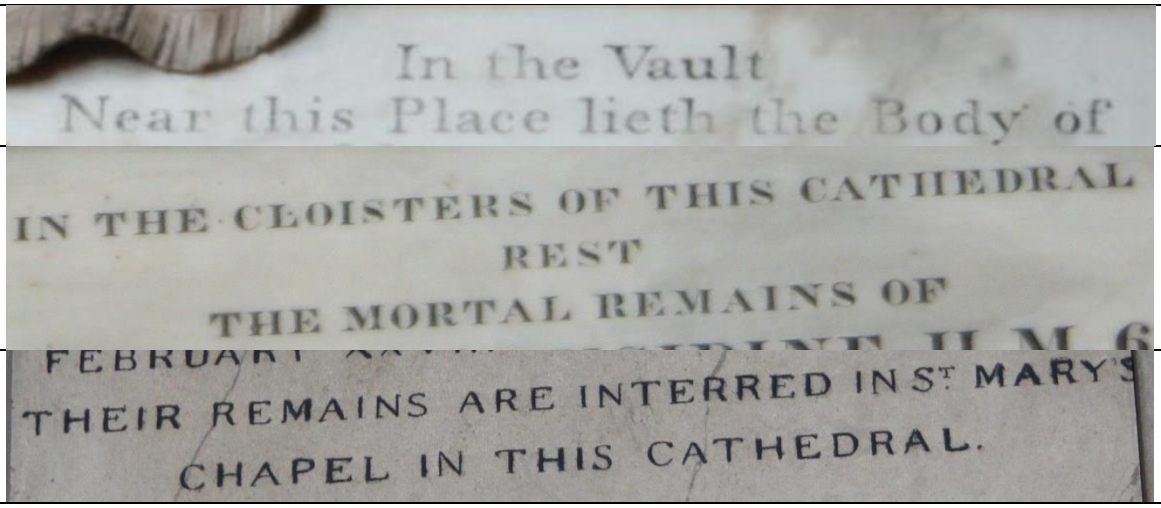


Fig.6.33. Chester Cathedral: excerpts from wall memorials.

The Leet family memorial (Fig.6.34), located on the west wall of Chester's south transept, demonstrates a range of both interior and exterior signposting. Simeon Leet (1792-1826), once sheriff of the city, is first named, followed by his wife Mary (d.1852, 14th August aged 60), then five children (no dates listed), and finally Simeon's mother, also called Mary (d.1847). The inscription states: "The remains of the above with the exceptions named are placed within the bay; second from the nave (west) in the south transept of this cathedral". One exception is Simeon's wife who died 1852 and is listed as "interred at the cemetery". Chester's first public cemetery, Overleigh, opened in 1850 and Mary Leet's burial there took placed on 17th August 1852, four days after her death (Overleigh cemetery register DCE/1/1 grave P1442). The other exception is the 4th child listed, Henry, who was "interred at St John's", the early medieval church outside the southern city walls. The memorial commissioners have taken care to ensure that each member's mortal remains are accounted for. This may be particularly significant for a family whose bodies lay within and beyond the walls of the cathedral.

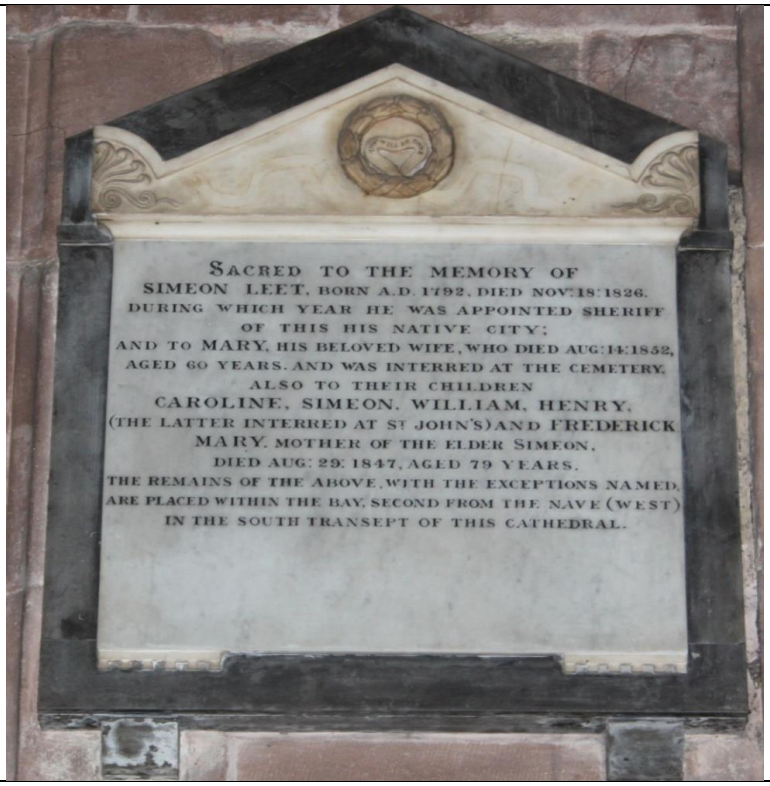


Fig.6.34. Chester Cathedral: Leet family memorial: south transept.

Stratigraphy of Text and Body

Both wall and floor memorials may repeat a particular formula over and over for each individual commemorated. The late 17th century brass plaque for the Farrington family (Fig.6.35) (earliest death was 1665) is a case in point. This small rectangular memorial is currently screwed to the south transept floor. Yet the clean lines of the inscription and general lack of wear-and-tear suggests either the text has been (recently) re-cut or it was originally a wall memorial which has been relocated. Of the 20 screw holes around the edges of the plaque only 10 now contain a screw, all of which look to be modern machined screws. The text is carefully spaced around the screw holes, indicating the inscription was incised after the holes were drilled or adequate space was left when the inscription was devised. The plaque is completely filled by the inscription and there is no decoration of any kind. The text runs on across the whole body of the plaque with no paragraph breaks or indentations.

The Farrington (Ffarrington) memorial (Fig.6.35) lists six family members spanning at least three generations. Each entry is preceded by the formula; “Here lyeth interred the body of…” or its variation; “Here lyeth the body of …”. The entries are also in chronological order of death, beginning with the earliest. The consistency of the lettering style, the run-on sentences, and the perfectly spaced text around screw holes and across the whole plaque surface suggests the inscription was created in one event. The entries do not appear to be later additions to a primary inscription. Thus the Farrington memorial was probably completed following the death of the latest individual, Ann, in 1696. Given the gap of 31 years between the death of Charles senior and Ann, this family vault was re-opened multiple times for additional Farrington burials and yet only permanently commemorated after the final interment of Ann.

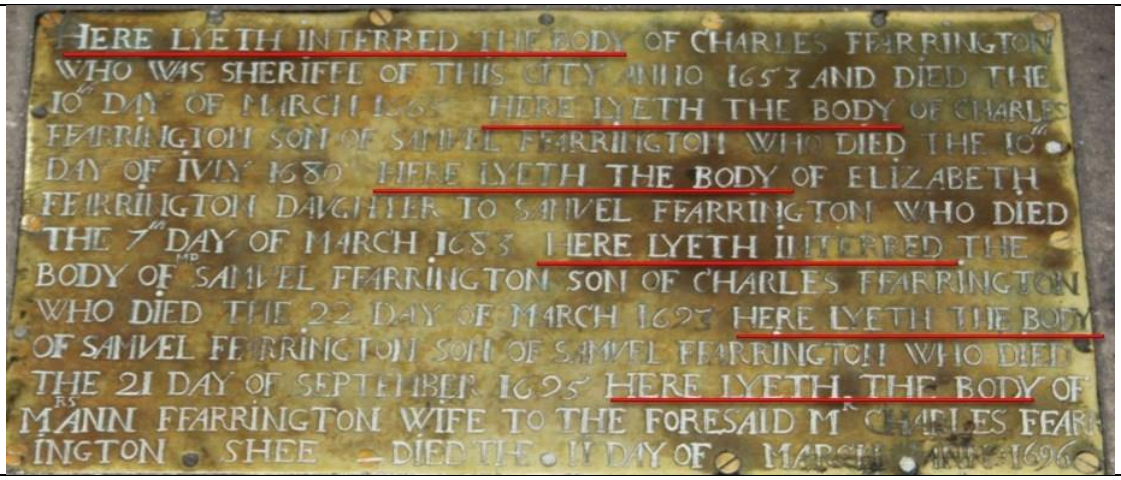


Fig.6.35. Chester Cathedral: Farrington memorial: south transept floor. Repetition of the stratigraphy underlined in red.

Of particular interest is the repeated formula ‘Here lyeth…’ prefacing each entry. Given the lack of space for extraneous text, a choice was made to emphasise that each individual’s body had received physical burial, rather than use the limited space to list anything further about the deceased in life (excepting Charles senior). Moreover, the seemingly unnecessary repetition of the burial formula for each person, especially on such a cramped

commemorative space, gives a sense of familial unity in death by the accrual of their bodies over time. The plaque in its chronological statements of burial provides a textual stratigraphy of the burial place; the layering of bodies in the vault, funeral after funeral, is mirrored in the layering of individual's death-dates and formulaic assertions of burial. The physical act of burial is mirrored in the physical structure of the inscription.

Wall-Floor Dynamics

Not all memorials placed on walls were originally made for the vertical plane. Floor memorials may be re-formed and relocated as wall memorials in order to save them from destructive re-building work, to relocate them near other family wall memorials, or to rescue them from the attrition of footfall traffi*c.* A range of clues can be drawn upon to identify wall memorials which were previously floor memorials. A basic observation may be a wall memorial with a worn inscription, since original wall memorials are highly unlikely to receive any prolonged erosive acts across their surface, unlike floor memorials. Inscriptions may be re-cut during the restoration of a floor memorial, so worn text is not always the most obvious evidence.

However, additional damage may be noticed, such as large chips around the edges where levers and crowbars were used to remove it from the floor. Secondary features may have been added to transform the floor memorial into a wall feature. The memorial to John Potter at Chester (Fig.6.36) not only has a worn inscription and large chips around its edges, but it also has a small stone loop added to the top from which it is hung. Most wall memorials are screwed into the wall not hung from a single point. A tiny plinth was also added to support the bottom of the memorial. This study has also noted that the shape of the John Potter memorial, three straight sides and a prominent concave top, is also more commonly found

inserted into floor slabs and echo the headstone styles of churchyard commemoration since the 17th century.

Lewis holes, used as an anchor point for levering open a floor slab, may still be evident on some wall memorials. The wall memorial to Martha Booth (Fig.6.36) in Chester's south transept west wall bears just such evidence. The central slab which beats the Booth family's inscription is quite damaged around the edges and it has been set rather awkwardly into a (later) surround. The formula "Underneath lyeth the body…" found on both the Potter and Booth memorials, is also suggestive of floor memorials rather than 'Near' on wall memorials. However, neither formulas are used exclusively by floor nor wall memorials. We should be careful about using a burial formula as standalone evidence of a re-formed and relocated memorial.

Wall-floor dynamics also present themselves in more specific ways. At Chester, the end of the inscription for the Potts floor memorial, south nave aisle, (Charles Potts d.1779; Fig.6.36) states "other members of the / family/ were here interred/ their monuments were/ removed to the south aisle/ in 1883". Here a floor memorial is instructing the reader about the family's wall memorials being relocated to south aisle walls. Thus the floor connects the viewer with the walls, just as wall memorials may send the reader to look at the floor for the burial location. In a similar vein, the memorial to John and Edward Lloyd (d.1844, d.1850; Fig.6.36) on the south nave aisle wall reads:

> "This Memorial Tablet, / substituted for one / on the floor of this Aisle, / was placed here, / October 1885 / by HORATIO LLOYD / Recorder of Chester / and Judge of County Courts / of North Wales and Chester: / in loving and respectful remembrance / of his Father and Grandfather".

Fig.6.36. Chester Cathedral: wall memorials of a. John Potter; b. the Booth family; c. John and Edward Lloyd; d. the Potts family.

It is unclear exactly why this exchange between floor and wall was made; presumably the floor memorial was in danger of being torn up during building work or it had become too damaged and the wall was deemed a safer place to preserve a memorial.

A reciprocal relationship between wall and floor memorials is highlighted by individuals who received more than one memorial at the same site, on both vertical and horizontal planes. Frederick Philips (b. 12th September 1726 in New York, USA; d. 30th April 1783 in Chester, UK) received a lengthy inscription on a wall memorial placed on the south-facing pier of the crossing at Chester Cathedral (Fig.6.37).

Fig.6.37. Chester Cathedral: Frederick Phillips wall and floor memorials. The floor memorial is immediately in front of the wall memorial.

It overlooks the south transept, where his burial place is located close to the wall memorial. It is unclear which memorial was created first and they are different in stone type and in lettering style. They may have been made or at least commissioned by two different groups. Any visitor reading Philips' wall memorial would only need to turn around to see his small floor memorial almost directly behind them.

However, Philip's wall memorial gives no clue as to the whereabouts of his body or burial. Similarly, his floor memorial does not mention the wall memorial. It is as if the two memorials are entirely ignorant of each other. However, the final paragraph of the lengthy wall memorial is repeated, in a slightly abridged form, on the small floor memorial. So although there is no explicitly stated relationship between the floor and wall memorials for

Frederick Philips, the repetition of the same text on each allows for a subtle echo to reverberate between these two monuments, which further resonate through their spatial arrangement.

Renewal

Strategies of re-connection are also evidenced by acts of renewal. The Aires and Ball wall memorial in the cloisters (Fig.6.38), north of the chapterhouse vestibule, commemorates the deaths of Lydia Aires (d.1768), Thomas Aires (d. 1789) and Katherine Ball (d.1815). It was probably erected in the late 18th-century, although it is unlikely to have originally been hung in the cloisters, given its ruinous state at the time.

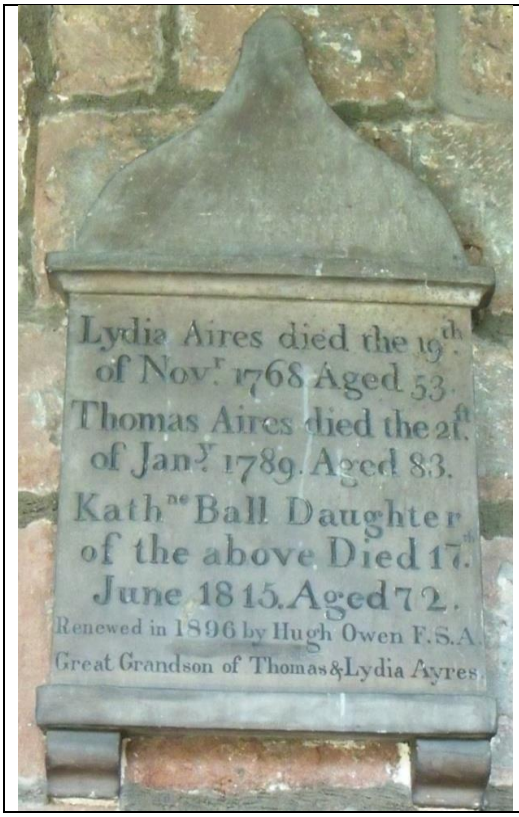


Fig.6.38. Chester Cathedral: Aires and Ball wall memorial: cloisters

At the bottom of this simple memorial lies additional text stating it was ‘renewed’ in 1896 by Hugh Owen, the great grandson of Thomas and Lydia ‘Ayres’. Not only was the memorial retrieved from potential obscurity by being restored, but the later inscription commemorates the act of restoration, a later descendant, and multi-generational links between great-

grandparents who had died over a century before the restoration by their great-grandson took place. Thus Owen was re-asserting and strengthening family links by re-invigorating the memory of the individual dead. In the north choir aisle there currently hangs an elaborate and unusual turquoise and gold stone wall memorial with central brass plaque and wooden canopy and columns, commemorating Sub-dean William Bispham (d.1685; Fig.6.39). The brass plaque was restored by another William Bispham, Bishop of Maryland, USA in 1888 who had been researching the origin of his surname in Lancashire and Cheshire (Bispham, 1890). As with the Aires and Ball memorial, the act of renewal has been commemorated by the addition of a small strip of brass with restoration information. The original Bispham brass plaque is damaged, with missing corners and clipped edges. The inscription is in Latin which translates as:

> "Tossed hither and thither while he lived, near this place lies William Bispham Sub Dean of this Church, now may he rest in peace! He died in the year 1685 in the 88th year of his age" (Bispham, 1890, 114).

Bispham's burial is recorded in the cathedral's lists of officers as "St Mary's Chapel [Lady Chapel] behind the altar screen of the choir where a monument remains to his memory" (Bispham, 1890, 114-5). By the time the 19th century American William Bispham (1890, 115) was writing, his 17th century namesake's large granite grave marker was in the cloisters, still inscribed 'W. Bispham S.D. 1685'. The American William Bispham (1890, 115) was not a direct descendant of the sub-Dean but the later Bispham desired to connect himself with the 17th-century prebend. This type of renewal was forging non-familial links, reviving the memorial for a new narrative, connecting with a later generation.

Fig.6.39. Chester Cathedral: William Bispham wall memorial

Shrine & Statue, Cremation and Cloisters

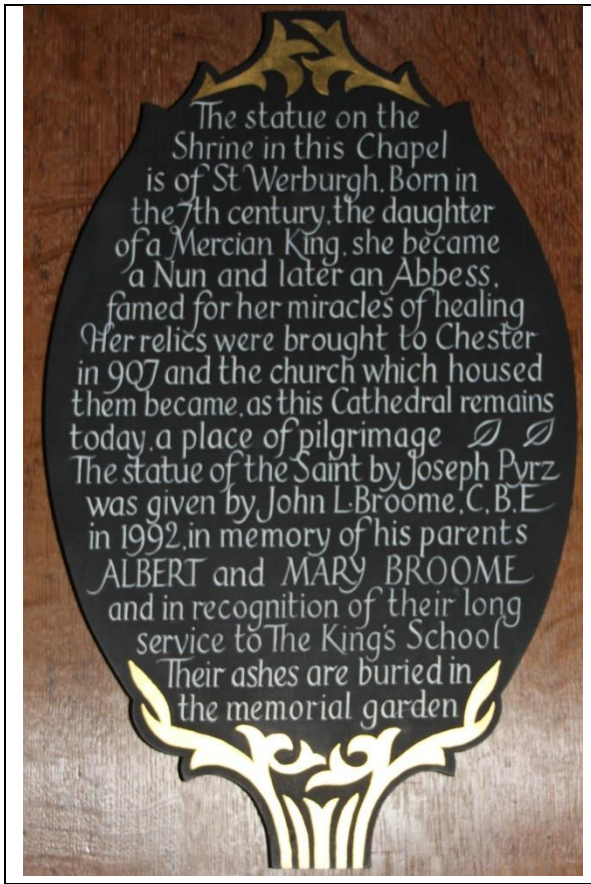
A particularly striking, unique example of a renewed monument is the shrine of St Werburgh. Large masonry fragments of the 14th century shrine of St Werburgh survived the Dissolution of the Shrines as the base to the bishop's throne (Lewis & Thacker, 2005, 197). In the 19th century, these fragments were incorporated into a reconstruction of the shrine, which is now located behind the choir and in front of the Lady Chapel (Lewis & Thacker, 2005, 197). Whether the medieval shrine was originally located here is open to debate (see Newbolt, 1933). However, in 1992 a statue of St Werburgh, made by Joseph Pryz, was installed in the centre of the upper storey of the shrine. The statue was donated by Joseph L. Broome C.B.E. in memory of his parents, Albert and Mary Broome who had both worked at Chester's King's School (Fig.6.40). Albert and Mary Broome had been cremated and their ashes interred in the cloister garden, although the dates of their deaths are not recorded on their memorial.

The cremation burials of the Broomes are not marked or memorialised in the cloister garden. The shrine, however, has a dark slate, oval plaque, placed on wooden panelling to the north. This plaque acts as a memorial for both St Werburgh and the Broomes. The first half of the inscription details what little is known of St Werburgh's life and gives the date of the translation of her relics as 907, ending with a comment about her remains stimulating pilgrimage to this site. The second half outlines the creation and donation of the statue in memory of the Broomes, and the location of their ashes in the 'memorial garden'. It is unclear when this memorial was created and hung next to the shrine but it was likely installed during or shortly after 1992 when the sculpture was donated. The memorial, the statue, and the unmarked cremations can be viewed as a discrete assemblage there is a significant time gap of over a century between this memorial and the reconstruction of the shrine. If the shrine is indeed 14th century, then the residual masonry within the reconstruction represents a gap

of several centuries between its use as a shrine-memorial for Werburgh and a repository for the Broomes statue-memorial. The oval plaque next to the shrine is the pivotal memorial, connecting the shrine, statue, cremations and memorial garden together. Firstly, the shrine originally held the whole body of St Werburgh, kept above ground but enclosed within the stone frame, indoors. Conversely, the bodies of the Broomes were cremated, thus fragmented, and buried below ground in soil, outdoors. The shrine and the whole body it enclosed are synonymous with medieval European Catholic veneration and mortuary practice.

Alternatively, cremation was officially re-introduced into Protestant Britain in the Cremation Act of 1902 (Brooke Little, 1902, 10-11, 684). The 1852 Burial Act had already made provision for depositing ashes in an urn in a church wall-niche if a faculty was granted, and the 1853 amendment included the option of under-floor deposits inside churches (Brooke Little, 1902, 119-120, 186-7). This meant depositing cremains was not legally categorised as a 'burial' (Brooke Little, 1902, 186-7). Unlike medieval Catholicism, this form of bodily treatment was not viewed as nullifying physical resurrection. Therefore, the Broome cremation burials are connected with Protestant funerary practice and eschatology. However, there could be some conceptual similarity between the partial remains of Werburgh not being formally 'buried' and the deposition of the Brooke's ashes not being viewed as a 'burial'. In this respect, both forms of bodily treatment have an ephemeral quality.

A series of binary themes are thus connected and unified by this plaque: indoor/outdoor, inhumation/cremation, above/below ground, Catholic/Protestant, whole/fragmented, veneration/remembrance, and both constituting 'non-burial'. This network of contrasts and connections stretches across the boundaries of the cathedral building and its precincts, and across the centuries of memorial and burial practices housed inside and outside the church. Burials beyond the walls of the cathedral may be memorialised inside the building.



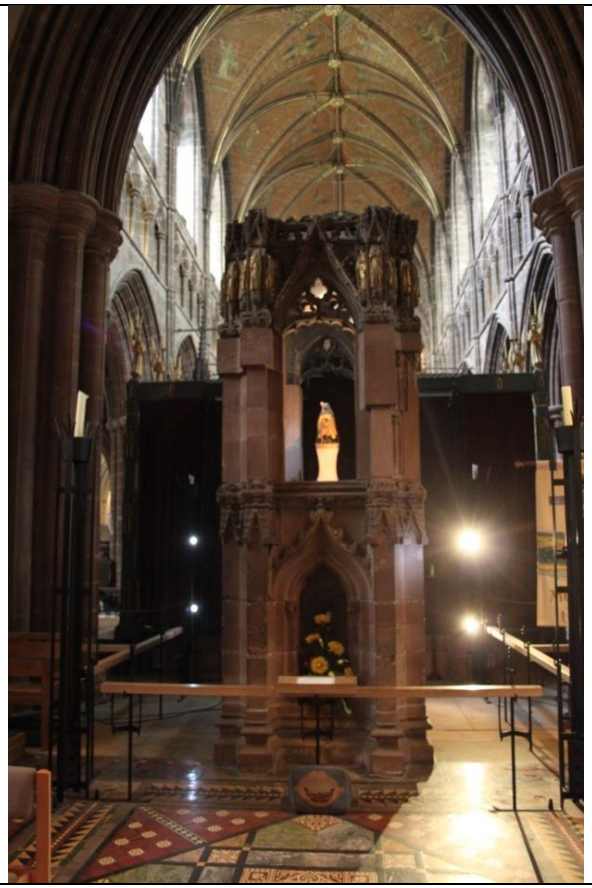
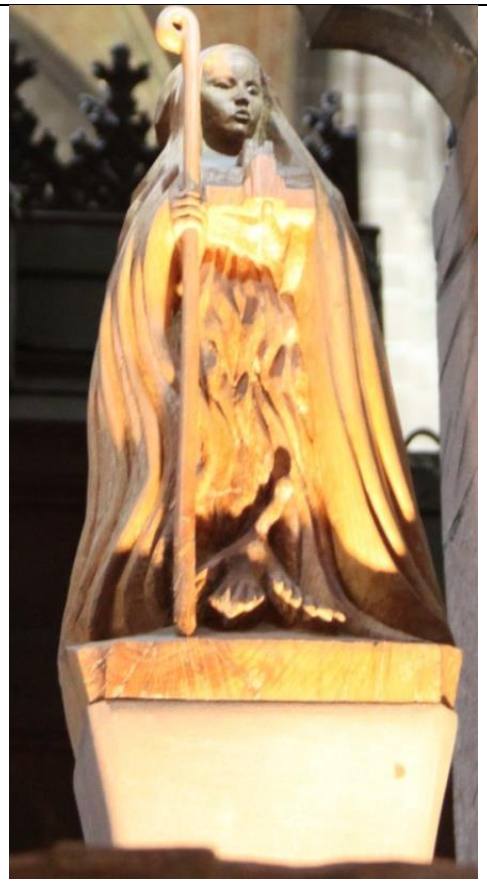



Fig.6.40. Chester Cathedral: (L-R): wall memorial to the Broomes; St Werburgh's Shrine; Commemorative sculpture of St Werburgh in the shrine.

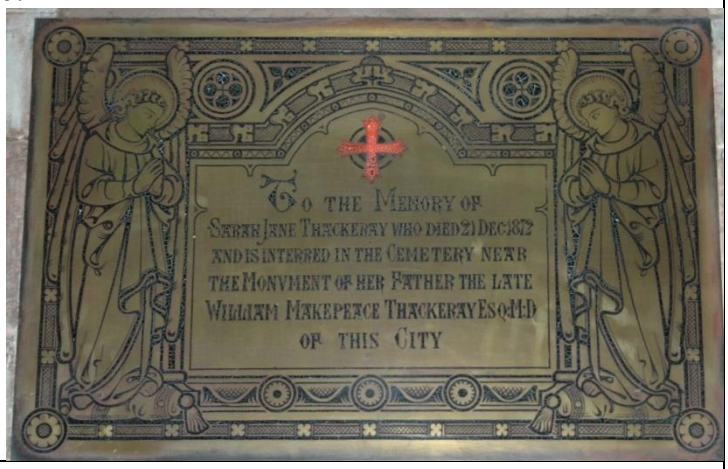
This ‘parish’ of the cathedral dead can also include public burial grounds, as well as church and churchyard burials. Moreover, an example at Chester cathedral and the city’s first public cemetery suggest reciprocal relationships can exist within this network of the dead. William Makepeace Thackeray (uncle of the same-named author) died in 1849 and was buried inside Chester cathedral. However, no memorial seems to have been commissioned to mark his burial. Instead, a large yellow sandstone cenotaph was constructed to his memory and installed in Overleigh cemetery in 1852.

It consists of a tall ‘Eleanor cross’ style structure with arched panels, built atop a three-stepped plinth (English Heritage SJ4065). The Thackeray monument, one of the tallest in Overleigh, stands at the point where all the cemetery pathways converge making it especially prominent within this landscaped terrain of memory. The inscription includes reference to his body being buried within the cathedral in 1849: (“DECEASED AT CHESTER JULY 29TH 1849 AND BURIED IN THE CATHEDRAL”).

Alongside the Thackeray cenotaph are two raised grave-slabs with crosses, marking the burial plot of his daughter Sarah Jane Thackeray (d.1872; Fig.6.41) a ‘spinster’ according to the cemetery register, and Johanna Jones (d.1884) of unknown relation. Although Sarah Jane is buried in Overleigh and an inscription to her memory was added to William Thackeray’s cenotaph, a separate memorial for her was installed in Chester cathedral. This brass plaque makes reference to her burial in Overleigh “near/ the Monument of her Father the late/ William Makepeace Thackeray Esq. M.D./ of this City”. It is curious that Sarah Jane in memorialised as an individual in the cathedral but buried at Overleigh, whereas William is buried in the cathedral but memorialised in the cemetery. It is unclear whether Sarah Jane’s plaque is near her father’s burial place. Nonetheless, a cyclical relationship is established

between these burials and memorials. Sarah Jane's memorial points to the cemetery and the Thackeray cenotaph points back to the cathedral. This signposting between the brass plaque and the cenotaph creates a reciprocal relationship between the cathedral in the city and the cemetery outside the city. Neither the cathedral nor the cemetery contains either the primary burial place or the primary memorial. Both sites are reliant on the other's existence and the inscriptions they contain to complete the connection between the deceased's bodily remains and their memory as a person.

a.



b.

Fig.6.41 a. Chester Cathedral: wall memorial to Sarah Thackeray; b. Thackeray Monument in Overleigh Cemetery, Chester (© Mr Michael J Tuck/ English Heritage SJ4065).

Unofficial Commemoration of the Dead

Graffiti could also be used as a way of creating unofficial memorials inside church space. On a stone bench in Canterbury cathedral's southern cloister range, there is a very neat, professionally tooled inscription in a rectangular cartouche, simply stating "T.W.L. 1792 / J.L 1814" (Fig.6.42). Given the high quality chiselling work, the perfectly aligned inscription, the straightness of the cartouche and the precision of the copperplate lettering, this was not a casual addition of graffiti using whatever came to hand, but a premeditated act by a highly skilled individual using proper tools. Given the 22-year gap between 1792 and 1814, it probably represents a retrospective commemoration of these individuals, since this graffito has not been added to but was made in one sitting. Other examples have been found by the many Medieval Graffiti surveys currently underway, such as the graffito at St Mary's, Dalham in Suffolk inscribed on what appears to be a wall recess, which reads: "D M died / JULY Ye 2 / 1750" (SuffMGS 2013).

Fig.6.42. Canterbury Cathedral: memorial graffiti on the stone cloister benches.

Conclusion: Disconnected Burials and Monuments

In these examples, the dead are memorialised at one site but buried at a variety of locales, both nearby and far away. By citing multiple burial places beyond the cathedral's architectural boundaries, the cathedral acts as a central repository within an international network of the dead. This network acts at a variety of scales: at parish-county level, national,

and international. The cathedral becomes a central storehouse of memory from which concentric circles of burial sites ripple outwards, starting inside the building and ending at a global scale. This geographically comprehensive network of the dead transcends the boundaries of parishes, counties and nations. Instead, the cathedral dead exist within their own network operating both within and beyond the architectural space of the building and its precincts. From this perspective, the St Werburgh/Broome memorial, which connects multiple bodies and sites, expresses in microscale the cathedral's larger funerary network. In effect, the cathedral dead exits within their own global 'parish boundaries', unlike the narrower, site-specific parish boundaries imposed on the living.

The importance of the reader's physical presence to acknowledge, if not visit, the corresponding burials or related monuments is also evident. As monuments became increasingly disconnected from their burials since the 16th century, and particularly since the 19th century, monument commissioners have taken pains to inscribe locations and directions to the related sites and monuments. Wall and floor memorials have also occasionally been positioned to relate to each other. Sometimes their new horizontal/vertical position is made clear to the reader so that their spatial relationship to the burial is not (further) confused.

In doing so, these monuments may be capitalising on a broader culture of mortuary tourism and bodily presence in the post-Reformation cathedral. The inscribed locations and directions encourage the reader to take a micropilgrimage within and beyond the confines of the cathedral to connect the disconnected dead with their own physical presence at each site. Not only does the visitor bridge the spatial gap but also helps to future-proof the memory of the individual commemorated on the monument and the reality of a buried body/bodies.

Conclusion

At all three scales, presence, absence, and touch are especially interlinked in displaced bones and disconnected monuments and burials. A monument may be physically absent but our imagination may fill in the gaps as we touch the architectural scars left behind. Handling a human skull, tracing incised graffiti, or stroking the mutilated hands of an effigy which had suffered the iconoclast's blade may generate a narrative, an image, an interpretation of the absent person who owned the skull, or inscribed the graffiti, or struck the effigy. It may simply stimulate our imaginings of how many others have also touched this exact object over the generations. Touch has a capacity to arouse and animate the absent. Objects and remains bearing evidence of historic damage do not merely speak of the past or the item's biography, but can solicit a sensual, visceral engagement with it. A haptic approach is therefore not limited to things that are physically present but alerts us to how the absent was encountered, narrated, and curated. Haptic-centred studies also foster an understanding of embodied experiences of past generations who handled the remains of the dead left to decay and/or to posterity.

Handling artefacts in early museums was a culturally-loaded affair. Although the identities of those touching artefacts, human remains, and monuments inside cathedrals is largely unknown, the social conditions governing touch may have applied to some degree. The privilege of touch has had masculine overtones and, in the late modern period, was strongly tied to social class. The touch of the upper classes was viewed as rational, informed, authoritative, and ownership. Touch also allowed visitors to inhabit the remains of the past by wearing them or carrying them, personalising the past for the individual visitor.

Although the lower classes theoretically had access to early museums, the price and logistics of acquiring a ticket made it near impossible for working people to visit. When the British museum was free to the public, the lower classes were primed not to touch the displays for fear they would damage and steal items. In reality, quite the reverse happened and the working class kept their distance from the collections. They were accustomed to being deprived of the privilege of touching cultural artefacts. However, a closer investigation of the heterotopic cathedral suggests that touch was encouraged to all visitors through guidebooks and their illustrations, and through public access to charnels chapels or relic cupboards housing bones and other anomalous items.

The decision to display human bones rather than bury them indicates that the anxieties suggested in for pre-Reformation shrines were not a concern in this context. Collective identities of the unnamed dead, displayed outside of a formal burial context, seems to have assuaged anxieties surrounding the display of named (in)famous during tomb-openings. The absence of the past and of the individuals who owned/inhabited them was re-materialised or presenced through haptic interactions with their tangible properties. Thus these cathedral handling collections were part of local narratives, historic and/or folkloric, and their tangibility could give weight to stories surrounding them.

There were also contemporary perceptions of Protestant and Catholic forms of touch, the former being less respectful and more intellectually self-serving than the careful, spiritually appreciative touch of the latter. It was also viewed as a distinctly ‘English’ and ‘Protestant’ pastime. This was blamed on characterisation of touch in Post-Reformation England as irreverent, relentless, and motivated by a disembodied, cerebral enquiry, versus ‘Catholic’ hapticity elsewhere, which was viewed as respectful, restrained, occasional, and motivated by

emotive and religious experiences. Although this dichotomy was a contemporary notion in the 19th century, this chapter has attempted to problematise such a strict division. Indeed, it is interesting how 19th century perceptions of a 'Catholic' haptic culture seems to diametrically opposed to the overtly sensory, touch-centric Catholicism characterised in the pre-Reformation church (e.g. Aston, 2003).

There are also tombs created long after the Reformation, including the 19th century, which bear evidence of haptic erosion and staining from repeated forms of exploratory touch. This includes stroking mutilated areas of effigies still scarred by iconoclasts. This does not mean that no disrespectful forms of touch were enacted after the mid-17th century, but equally, as this thesis has shown, theft and breakage of the dead occurred in Pre-Reformation churches as well, motivated by both veneration and greed. Haptic interaction with the dead in forms of Protestantism were used to ruminate on mortality, and to reconnect the spatially distant bodies and wall memorials as a way of future-proofing their memory as two or more physically networked sites. The bodiliness of the visitor was of primary importance for making that connection. In some respects, the network of monuments and burials only existed when the visitor was present.

The variety of examples of connected and disconnected bones, burials and mortuary monumentality discussed here reflect the variety of ways burials, memorials, and even spaces within the building can act as points of convergence or time, space and memory. Ultimately, they both reflect the myriad ways different generations of the living respond to the inherited dead and attempt to connect the present and even future dead who continue to share the same space.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Introduction: Thesis Overview

The haptic experiences offered by cathedral mortuaryscapes vary between the buildings and over time. Yet the desire to reach out and touch or presence the absent dead, be they saints, effigies, burials, charnel, or citations of the dead, has permeated the long life-history of interactions with the inherited dead. New styles of monuments, such as evolving shrine architecture or wall memorials, and the ebb-and-flow of charnel collections may have re-orchestrated how different audiences could physically engage with the dead.

The five cathedrals selected to study have provided both similar and unique evidence. There has been no deliberate attempt in this thesis to create direct comparisons or a hierarchy between the cathedrals. Instead, they have been treated as an assemblage of mortuaryscapes, each contributing facets of haptic interactions with the dead over the *longue durée.* Due to the nature of the evidence they supply, some cathedrals, particularly Canterbury and Exeter, have offered more archaeological and material evidence, while St Albans, which has lost most of its pre-Reformation monuments, has been utilised through its shrines, modern memorials, and contemporary sources. Chester and Ripon, the two northern cathedrals, have each proffered a mix of material and documentary evidence, not least in St Werburgh's shrine and late modern wall memorials at the former; and evidence of iconoclasm and the bone-house at the latter.

The thesis has attempted to situate haptic encounters with the dead in period-specific discourses and evidence. As a result, anthropological parallels have been overlooked in favour of relevant historic accounts contemporary to certain episodes within cathedral histories. Rather than engaging in detailed readings of doctrine and belief, the sources

selected have offered a socially-informed approach to mortuary touch, which has suggested aspects of religious identities and motivations as well.

Similarly, concepts and constructions of self-hood surrounding the bodies of the dead, or the living who interacted with them, have not been explored. Instead, collective identities divided and contested through haptic culture have been foregrounded. Thus the emphasis has centred on the haptic experiences of the living which have been mediated by (and thus contested) architecture, spatiality, taboos, gendered practices, and social and religious group identities. Thus the potent agency of touching the dead to presence and interact with them, and the microboundaries impacting that dynamic, have been central to this thesis.

This thesis has also repeatedly drawn attention to the problem of assuming a collective 'hive-mind' of sensory experiences, in which the same scenarios would have engendered broadly similar emotional and psychological responses to the dead. Some experiences may have been more common than others, but the individual nature of psychological and emotional states is simply too rich and varied to categorise or assume. Instead, this thesis has attempted to interrogate the multiplicitous nature of encounters and affordances through repetitions of touch.

Combining empirical evidence with archaeological case studies, contemporary texts, and key anecdotes has allowed this thesis to highlight specific evidence or trends and synthesise them with broader patterns and consensuses. It has also facilitated a more nuanced reading of familiar evidence, such as shrines and iconoclasm, and attempted to balance this with material that is unusual or overlooked within monument/burial studies, such as graffiti, theft, breakage, charnel displays, haptic erosion, and modern-day mementoes. It has also singled

out wall memorials for special attention not because of their provenance, patronage, familial commemoration, symbolism, craftsmanship or raw materials, but because they operate within a rich network of bodies, burials, and audiences within and beyond the architectural confines of the cathedral.

Haptic Interactions between Pilgrims and Saints

The variety of spatial planes created to house the remains of saints impacted how pilgrims could or could not interact with them. This was further divided by the status, wealth, and physical abilities and needs of the pilgrims. Visiting the crypt alone, in small groups, or with a large crowd would have created very different experiences of this space. The lack of light and obvious decoration in the crypt would have thrown emphasis on the other senses to interpret and navigate the structure and the saints within. Subterranean spaces may have been embraced by some as a landscape of challenge and spiritual transformation and victory, as expressed in early medieval literature of barrows and chambers in the landscape. Some visitors may have been overwhelmed by the claustrophobic, dark, hot, cramped, conditions; the smoky and possibly smelly atmosphere; and the sound distortion created by the architecture.

This thesis has also attempted to signal how variable sensory encounters could be, even within the same generation(s). The subterranean spaces of the early medieval saints might have caused fear, anxiety, claustrophobia, and unpleasant experiences for some pilgrims, because of the architectural dimensions, other visitors, and connotations of the demonic subterranean world in the wider landscape. Conversely, others may have embraced the experience as a place of spiritual and even physical challenge and transformation, drawing upon parallels with Christ's resurrection from the tomb and the waters of baptism. The

overtones of sacred sites in Rome and Jerusalem deliberately invoked in Wilfrid's crypts and foramina shrine-tombs also offered those who knew this a tangible portal to the Holy Lands.

The elevation of saints re-orientated experiences away from the haptic and towards sighted and auditory interactions. Ever-increasing barriers between the pilgrim and the bones of the saints were introduced at the shrines discussed herein. These ranged from physical boundaries of screens, railings, canopies, wrappings, and height; to the guardians policing visitor proximity to shrines, and surveillance of the public from shrine watchlofts. While haptic encounters were still available, these were largely reserved for influential visitors, and thus status was as much a conceptual barrier between the saint and the pilgrim as the physical microboundaries. The privatisation of experience through prayer niches at the base of some shrines not only segregated pilgrims who could and could not pray in this manner, but also provided individualised, personal experiences with the saint.

Encounters with saints at elevated shrines were highly theatrical, with a sense of (deliberate) anxiety about exposing the remains of the saints to sight and touch for too long or too publically. This may have been a way of heightening sensory experiences and expectations with certain human remains in world where charnel was stored en masse and the unknown dead were piled high in some chapel crypts. Thus the great unveilings of saints' bones in major shrines, and the encapsulation of minor saints' remains in glass, crystal, wood, or metal

Even when unveiled, the bones of elevated saints seem to have been kept out of reach and even out of sight. Instead, pilgrims were encouraged to handle secondary relics and use pilgrim badges or other items to make contact relics (*brandea*). As a result, touching the bones of saints became the preserve of the clergy and their special guests, even though on the

eve of the Reformation, some were notably disgusted with the idea of touching and kissing bones and human effluvia ascribed to the saintly dead.

However, not all haptic experiences of the saints were welcome, and some inidviduals displayed revulsion towards, and abstinence from, kissing or touching certain types of relics, particularly on the eve of the Reformation, as traditional relationships with the dead began to destabilise (Erasmus, 1526 [1957]). Conversely, on the other side of the Reformation, there were those who continued to collect pieces of Protestant martyrs for personal veneration (Walsham, 2010). Similarly, the aforementioned disintegration and defacement of mortuary monuments was decried and encouraged, contested and enforced by different groups within the same generation. A simple 'Catholic' versus 'Protestant' interest in curating bones of the special dead or defacing their monuments is not tenable. Personal preferences, ideologies, etiquettes, and doctrinal leanings informed the individual's decision as to how they handled the dead within their religious and social moment, whether they were pilgrims, iconoclasts, thieves, graffitists, parishioners, or tourists.

Physical and conceptual spatial distances between the dead could also be bridged through haptic and bodily presences of the living. Shrines and tombs were centrifugal sites, attracting the living to them, even inside them or imbibing pieces of the dead within the living body. Invoking Hetherington's (2003) concept of intimate proximal touch (Chapter 3), the immediacy and up-closeness of haptic contact between the living and the dead at centrifugal sites is apparent. In these examples sight, which is often prioritised as the dominant sense, may actually be supplementary or even deprived, in favour of touch, taste, smell, or sound. The rejection of such close encounters with saintly bones and effluvia, and the microboundaries installed by the cathedrals between pilgrims and saints, suggests physical

and conceptual distances could be enforced by both the laity and the church. Proximal touch was therefore contested by different groups.

Haptic Interactions between Early Modern Men and the Dead

Equally, there have been long-standing disintegrative forms of touch, both respectful and disrespectful. Items have been stolen from tombs, graves ransacked, and monuments mutilated and graffitied (Chapter 5). These disintegrative acts were not exclusively male and, with the exception of iconoclasm and its associated grave-robbing by Parliamentary soldiers, were not unique to the early modern period. However, the characterisation of bodily violence and defacement as masculine behaviours in this period, and the predominance of men involved in iconoclasm and grave-robbing, suggests gendered interactions with the dead should be considered where it was foregrounded.

The empirical analysis of iconoclasm in Chapter 5 revealed different degrees and types of damage enacted by iconoclasts depending on the effigy gender and whether they were male clergy or the male laity. Female effigies in this sample were spared the more widespread and repeated damage suffered by male effigies. Moreover, effigies of the clergy might be more likely to have their noses removed. There also appears to be a distinction between the extensive damage to tombs extant during the Reformation and the more focussed damage to those erected after the end of Reformation iconoclasm. The small-scale damage to attendant figures of Period B tombs in some (locked) chapels and preservation of the main effigy suggests a degree of anxiety amongst such iconoclasts to deface recent tombs. This may reflect the pro-Laudian clergy at Canterbury who were accused by individuals such as Richard Culmer of failing to enact enough significant and visible damage to potentially offensive images.

Graffiti could be an extension of iconoclastic action, by gouging or slashing body parts. However, it also appears to have been used by male social groups who congregated around certain tombs or zones of tombs inside cathedrals. The tomb of Duke Humphrey at St Paul's is just one documented example. Evidence of graffiti once observed around Duke Humphrey's tomb at St Albans suggests graffiti was used at this tomb as part of the documented 'cult' of the Duke. Graffiti on and around three tombs at Canterbury, all located in the same area of the cathedral as Duke Humphrey's at St Paul's, might also represent an early modern focal point for social gatherings. The importance of space and territoriality within cathedrals for male self-aggrandisement was a significant part of performative masculinity in this period, according to Dekker. Whether some of the breakage seen on some tombs also reflects tokenism within these social groups is open to future debate.

While iconoclasm and graffiti on tombs seems to emerge with the Reformation, theft of human remains as relics, and stealing items from shrines and tombs already had extensive precedent. There is no easy division between 'respectful' and 'disrespectful' touch in these cases because motives and perceptions of the dead were complex. A stolen gem from an effigy might have both sacred and financial values for the person who takes it. Brass clippings might be personal mementoes or methods of payment. The value of the token piece may evolve and shift during its ownership, even if only owned by one person. The reason it was taken might not be the same reason it is kept or circulated.

Even the eradication of the presence and agency of the Catholic dead by iconoclasts and pro-Puritan grave-ransackers was considered respectful practice in some quarters – not towards the 'ungodly' dead but towards God, the 'true faith', and by extension, the Protestant dead who would have to share the cathedral mortuaryscape. The damage they caused was

disrespectful to the Catholic dead but the aim was to create a respectful mortuaryscape for the cohorts of Protestant burials and monuments, who were also subjected to respectful forms of touch. As has been demonstrated, haptic encounters with the dead did not stop under Protestantism, and in many ways mirrored aspects of pre-Reformation haptic practice: items continued to be taken from tombs, human remains were offered for handling, and tombs were and are still stroked and kissed.

Haptic Interactions between Cathedral Visitors/Tourists and the Dead

Touch culture was important in early museums for experiencing and personalising the past (Chapter 6). The living could literally insert themselves into the past by putting on ancient clothing or jewellery, handling archaeological artefacts, and feeling their way through collections of human remains in various states of survival. Comparing 18th and 19th-century accounts of handling the displaced dead in cathedrals, and encouragements in guide books to inspect tombs, reveals how important and stimulating handling human remains was for cathedral visitors in this period as a way of authenticating and participating in an imagined, intangible past. Displaced bones of the dead, many of them unidentifiable and undated, were (re-) narrated by being handled, and even consumed.

Haptic erosion of tombs is largely undateable although a *terminus post quem* is provided by the date of the monument's installation. Tombs with haptic erosion in this sample range across the whole chronology of the mortuaryscape. Given the importance placed on touching things by early museums, it is unsurprising that there is so much evidence of repeated touch even on (late) modern tombs, such as the 'prayer niches' in the base of Archbishop Frederick Temple's effigy at Canterbury, as well as on earlier examples.

Effigy tombs have been singled out for analysis of haptic erosion and staining to see whether they reflect iconoclastic actions, and what body parts of the representational dead were attracting touch. The findings indicate facial features and hands have particularly drawn attention. Touching such sensitive, animated, and unique parts of the body belies a degree of intimacy and personalised experience of the dead. Other areas of effigy tombs have been repeatedly touched because of their tactility and aesthetics. Some mutilated body parts also bear staining and erosion which may suggest myriads desires to trace the iconoclasts blade or soothe the raw stone or feel 'inside' the stone body or re-trace the touch already accrued on the monument by countless others performing the same action. None of these are mutually exclusive, either. Thus haptic erosion of effigies reveals a (temporary) relationship established between the living and the dead through cycles and tropes of touch through time.

The increased disconnection between burials and monuments from the 19th century has also created explicit and subtle suggestions by monument commissioners to harness the living to bridge these spatial gaps. Burial and other monument locations may be signposted, creating a network of micropilgrimages within and beyond the cathedral. This also reflects attempts to future-proof the memory of the disconnected dead by cross-referencing them across sites.

Unlike the centrifugal nature of shrines, many wall memorials have a centripetal nature, sending the living away to visit or imagine the other related, but distant, sites of the associated dead. The absence of the burial or other monuments is negotiated by sight, imagination, and bodily presence of the living. Thus the living become central figures activating an otherwise dormant network of the displaced and disconnected dead. The centripetal nature of some mortuary sites is akin to Hetherington's (2003) distal forms of sensory experience, which revolve around viewing from a distance (Chapter 3). Yet wall

memorials and their associated sites are not "assumed… stable and finished" products (Hetherington, 2003, 1934) because cycles of relocation and disturbance of monuments and burials means their destination within and beyond the cathedral is never final or inevitable.

Encouragements to handle, presence, and imagine the dead have re-emerged through medieval shrine custodians, post-Reformation wall memorials, late modern guidebooks and vergers, and modern-day stations for votives, donations, and mementoes at tombs and reconstructed shrines (Chapter 6). In this respect, we must be careful in characterising 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' forms of touch from physical evidence alone or from monolithic stereotypes of 'sensual/respectful Catholicism' versus 'cerebral/disrespectful Protestantism'. Emphases on the audio and textual nature of Anglican teaching, prayer, and worship, have tended to overlook the way the inherited dead were still being engaged with in a haptic manner (Moreland, 2001, 54-76; 2006, 140-1).

Thus strategies of renewal and re-narration are essential. They must be re-negotiated by the living not only through viewing them, but physically presencing the absent dead by visiting or imagining the other sites. In the examples discussed, the responsibility to reconnect the disconnected dead is laid upon the living, in a faint, distorted echo of pre-Reformation responsibilities amongst the living to affect the spiritual destinations of the dead or the responsibilities of Reformers to disempower the Catholic dead. The theological framework governing dynamics between the living and the dead may have changed but the living are still being encouraged to interact with, and thus future-proof the memory of, the dead.

Haptic Culture and Emotion

Some emotive and psychological motives for different forms of touch have been sketched in this thesis. The deprivation of sight and touch surrounding uncovered bones of saints may suggest a degree of anxiety about overexposing them in publi*c.* Several issues may have contributed to this: the role of exposure in humiliation ceremonies; the importance of covering the saints according to dictates of the early medieval Church; and generating excitement amongst pilgrims when saints were uncovered. Subterranean experiences may have also caused anxiety in some pilgrims because of their cramped, disorientating architecture, and perceptions of the demonic world inhabiting underground spaces.

This does not mean subterranean experiences lacked or aspired to be positive encounters with the saints. Anticipation of healing, freedom, spiritual ecstasy, and the joy inherent in such transformations were hugely influential for the rites of passage of entering shrines and crypts. It was not merely about entering the underground world, however conceived, but of emerging as well.

The dissatisfaction and anger expressed by iconoclasts and grave-ransackers, particularly the anti-Laudian laity, soldiers, and clergymen of the 1640s-1650s, also reminds us that aggressive haptic action might be accompanied by aggressive mental and emotional states. It may also be accompanied by revelry, joy and the importance of collective fun of destruction. As previously discussed violence and masculinity were deeply intertwined in constructions of early modern manhood across all levels of society. The importance of individual pride, family honour, and defending against shame through anger and interpersonal violence was innate to masculine performativity, especially in the public arena. The impact of patriarchal expectations placed upon men to use or express themselves through forms of violence may be

traced in the types of damage enacted on effigies of different periods, genders, statuses, and even body parts.

The ‘Godly wrath’ of the Parliamentary soldiers attacking cathedrals highlights how collective anger was not simply seen as a transgressive emotion in this context, but might also have been a powerful expression of righteousness. Yet the damage wrought at Canterbury Cathedral shocked even the military leaders supposedly in charge of those soldiers. The volatile nature of extreme emotional states, particularly amongst crowds, may lead to actions the individual may never have conceived of. The intention of those engaging in haptic practice might not match the impact it has on the physical material or public opinion. Studying defacement, damage, and disturbance as part of haptic culture allows (temporary) emotional states to be considered where they have left tangible or documented traces.

Early modern male graffitists were satirised by Dekker for their self-aggrandisement and the pride they took in trying to impress their male peers. The ‘pain’ that graffitists may have symbolically inflicted on effigies by slashing or gouging them, graffiting inside mutilated areas, or even ‘branding’ their cheeks with ciphers blurs the line between graffiti and iconoclasm. It also suggests that unofficial acts of iconoclasm continued to be inscribed on effigies even by laity after the official iconoclasm by senior clergy during the Reformation.

Iconoclastic graffiti in the 17th century may also have allowed less powerful members of society express their allegiances, anger, and dissatisfactions with Laudianism and/or local families with monuments in the cathedral (Chapter 5). The importance of leaving visible evidence of bodily violence on an opponent in this period may suggest some of the graffiti was also a way for the less powerful to wound the bodies of the (elite) dead.

However, not all graffiti was fuelled by negative emotions. There are also examples of unofficial memorials graffitied into the cathedral fabric, some of which demonstrate skilled, careful carving. Some of the graffiti may relate to (male) social groups demarcating their territory within the cathedral. Therefore, the desire to deface the dead does not automatically equate with anger or violence. The adaptable nature of graffiti means a spectrum of emotions, desires, and expressions of the individual as well as groups can be manifested in material culture. Thus graffiti cross-cuts respect and disrespect, and perhaps can be simultaneously both to different viewers or actants.

'Protestant touch' has been characterised as exploratory and inquisitive and therefore unemotional. Yet the wonder described by early museum visitors handling ancient artefacts, the excitement surrounding the cult of Duke Humphrey's bones and 'pickle' liquor at St Albans; and the amazement of Buckland at Ripon Cathedral's bone-house (and its associated ghost stories) indicates that emotions ran as high in Protestant contexts as they did in Catholic. Sensual encounters with the dead were still being offered and sought out, either directly through their human remains, or through the material culture they once owned and used. Although the religious framework for engaging with the dead had shifted, there was still a desire to physically touch and thus inhabit or encounter the intangible dead (and the intangible past they came from) in some tangible and experiential way.

The 'Protestant/Catholic' divide between forms of touch may have nuanced differences in terms of their aims and responsibilities towards the dead. Yet it undermines evidence of exploratory and inquisitive touch evidenced in Catholic context, such as the medieval 'scrutinies' of saints. The cerebral, deductive nature of sensory enquiry and exploratory touch is just as evident in these Catholic contexts.

The sensuality of touching the mortuaryscape in the late modern cathedral is apparent in the dense haptic erosion and staining of effigy faces and tactile pieces of their sculpture, such as billowing sleeves or bulbous shoes. Although emotional motives for this can only be guessed at for the individual, the exploratory and the sensual, the emotional and the cerebral are not easily disentangled. The deposition of votives and mementoes at shrines and tombs also continues today in certain churches and cathedrals. Some of this is formally arranged by the cathedral, such as the sculpture inserted into St Werburgh' shrine at Chester Cathedral. Other practices seem to have been developed by tourists and visitors, such as Bishop 'Leofric's tomb at Exeter Cathedral. This reflects how the dead still have a powerful spiritual presence in many people's lives even today, and physically connecting with them remains important. However, these relationships with the shrines, tombs, bishops, and saints of yesteryear are merely catalysts between the living and their own concerns, fears, and hopes for friends and relatives, living and dead. The emotional connection is not with the ancient dead *per se* but with the people known and loved by the living.

This has suggested the potential for a richer, more concerted exploration of the relationship between the cognitive and haptic; the intangible and tangible. Anxieties and tensions between sight and touch; the dissatisfaction, anger, and self-aggrandisement behind disruptive, even violent forms of touch, and the presencing of the absent dead through haptic interactions all belie the complex interweaving of emotional states, social and religious identities, and cultural taboos surrounding touch. The manipulation of the material world to create an (in)balance of the senses could shift and control what was and was not the sensory focal point.

Haptic Archaeology and Future Research

The findings have also been contextualised within discourses on a shifting English haptic mortuary culture, which has evolved over the centuries. While there does appear to be 'English' preferences for certain kinds of haptic interactions, this is neither definitive nor monolithic. Our understanding of this requires refining. There is, therefore, great potential for future studies to explore English cathedrals within a wider European context, other periods, and the evolving global manifestations of Christian belief and practice. Further potential for haptic archaeology is now proffered, with an awareness that this is such a broad and rich area of research, the scope discussed here will undoubtedly be limited to immediate debates and technologies.

Mortuary Archaeology and the Senses

A haptic approach to mortuary culture offers many avenues of research, fruitfully complicating discussions of corporeality of the dead, before, during, and after (or in lieu of) the funeral. Interactions between mourners and other attendees and between the living and the dead in funerary contexts may reveal tensions between looking and touching the dead, and the negotiation of other senses (smell, hearing, taste etc.) through spatial proximities, bodily etiquettes, and restraining or masking certain senses.

There is also scope for studies of haptic culture centred on (dead) bodies in medical and judicial institutions and arenas, complementing studies by Crossland (2009), Reynolds (2009), and Tarlow (2011). Invoking the displaced, decontextualised, and disconnected dead as entities within a heterotopia also offers a route into cross-fertilising studies of the post-mortem body between heterotopic institutions and arenas. It also offers a route into studies of

burials which have become ‘corrupt data’, within and beyond studies of deliberate exhumations and grave disturbances (e.g. Van Haperen, 2010).

A regional context for these findings may also be a highly profitable avenue of research. Situating each of these cathedrals within evidence at neighbouring churches for contemporary periods may reveal regional trends. This in turn may facilitate a deeper appreciation of the impact of local politics, and regional emphases on religious belief and practice, on the curation and interaction with the inherited dead. If so, it would enable a richer delineation of the heterogeneity of English haptic mortuary culture(s).

Harnessing suites of cathedrals or major churches and their parish churches, may provide regional preferences and trends of haptic mortuary culture, echoing work by, for example, Finch (1991, 2001). Cathedrals with shorter histories, such as the Anglican cathedrals of Liverpool, Birmingham and Coventry, also offer exciting potential for discussing the way retrospective monuments and deliberate invocations of ‘medieval’ monuments have been interacted with. Post-1850 burials of cremains and occasional senior clergymen interments would also enrich studies of the disconnected and disembodied dead which might be reassembled and re-presenced through touch cultures.

Archaeological Approaches to Touch Cultures

As Chapter 3 outlined, studies of touch cultures have been rich avenues of research in history, art history, anthropology, and museum studies. This thesis has addressed three historic episodes of haptic interactions with the dead from an archaeological perspective employing historic sources. There are numerous further scenarios this approach could be exposed to, within and beyond explicitly Christian contexts. Skeates (2010), Hamilakis (2013), and Mills

(2014) have already demonstrated holistic approaches to sensoryscapes in prehistoric societies, and singling out hapticity for an archaeological approach, inflected with anthropological parallels, is ripe for further exploration. This might begin to further illuminate touch-cultures and the epistemological nature of touch affecting changes and continuities in monuments, dwellings, and artefacts, and group identities and dynamics in eras lacking texts and commentaries. Work by Bailey (2005) on hand-held prehistoric figurines is already stimulating such research.

Gender relations, particularly early modern masculine constructs, have been explored in this thesis. These were built upon male honour, self-promotion, and interpersonal violence. This emphasises that feminist scholarship of non-sighted experiences should not be limited to male/female dichotomies. Rather, there are fertile arenas for research into the way patriarchal expectations created divisions amongst different group of males and their haptic access or control over the material world. Masculinities must be problematised as much as femininities and this thesis contributes to the important but sporadic engagements offered by archaeologists thus far (e.g. Hadley, 1998). It also offers a springboard into new trajectories of masculinities and femininities amongst the living and the dead through study of haptic privilege, control, and taboos. An even wider variety of gender dynamics have great potential for future research by examining how age groupings could intersect with gendered privileges and taboos of touch.

Self-hood and constructs of the individual body versus crowd behaviour have been briefly suggested in relation to crypt visits but there is much more potential for considering single and corporate touch. The dialectical relationship between haptic culture and bodily etiquette, self-control, and public and private behaviours offers exciting future terrains for research.

The way the human body was perceived, mediated, represented, and expressed within and beyond its haptic capabilities also requires greater attention than this thesis has afforded it. Notions of individuality, personhood, and even human-animal dynamics are worthy of future examination from a haptic perspective. The epistemological role of touch, previously mentioned in relation to medieval 'scrutinies' of saints and early antiquarian investigations in pre-forensic contexts also presents evidence ripe for exploration, particularly in reference to modern studies of 'expert touch' in museum contexts (e.g. Pye, 2007) and the evolution of archaeology as a haptic, sensory discipline.

Archaeology of the Senses

The relationship between touch and other senses, such as sight, sound, and smell, have been briefly alighted upon in this thesis, but holistic appreciations of sensory environments can fully integrate touch within the other senses, which may or compete or harmonise with each other. However, the approach in this thesis has singled out touch because in some cases it has been viewed as more 'truthful' than sight, and viewed as a dominant mode of interaction and interpretation with the physical world over and above sighted experiences. From that perspective, touch must always be considered as a culturally-constructed practice which varies across time and space. It cannot be assumed to have been experienced by everyone equally. While describing sensory events and environments is an important part of studies of embodiment and encounter, the senses must be contextualised within a variety of practices, identities, beliefs, and taboos surrounding the senses in isolation and in combination. Studies of haptic cultures also have potential for exploring proximity, boundaries, and control of physical access and the relationship between the audience, subject/object, and those in authority.

Touch and Archaeological Methods

Direct evidence of touch appears in the form of haptic erosion and staining from accumulated wear-and-tear. It can be observed on human remains, artefacts, monuments, and buildings which have not been subjected to weathering, heavy cleaning, or other process which might occlude the evidence. Recording evidence of haptic erosion and staining works particularly well on items which have few, if any, other natural processes eroding them, such as weathering.

The aftermath of touch can be explored where it leaves physical traces, such as staining or erosion. This has already been approached on Anglo-Saxon cremation urns, in which the hand of the potter could be traced through the start and finish points and the stratigraphy of the overlapping decoration (Nugent & Williams, 2012). This provides an insight into their creation and how later interactions with the pots could trace the intentions of the potter through the physicality of the decoration. This thesis has expanded this approach to other mortuary media – monuments and human remains – which also bear the physical traces of accrued touch. Unlike other bodily senses which can be reconstructed from the vehicles which created them (e.g. sighted experiences from vistas and sightlines; sound from reproducing the acoustics or musical instruments; smell from reconstituted properties of the perfume or incense et*c.*), evidence of touch has an immediacy that can be traced and retraced, and thus added to, by successive generations.

Microwear analyses and surface metrology have focussed on lithics from prehistoric contexts (e.g. Andrefsky, 2005; Henderson, 2013, 297-323). This thesis has suggested a way of engaging with more obvious forms of haptic erosion caused by forms of touch using the human body, and using tools and weapons within and beyond stone media. Applying

technologies such as laser scanning and RTI (Reflection Transformation Imaging) to artefacts, monuments, and even human remains may enable a greater understanding of the way in which touch operated in literal, symbolic, epistemological, and even emotive and psychological ways. Cross-cutting such evidence with the identities of those who handled them, the architectural planes and spaces in which it took place, tensions between touch and other human senses, and the cultural constructs which touch operated within are all fresh and fruitful avenues of future research.

Concluding Thoughts

By exploring forms and expressions of haptic interaction with the dead, this thesis has focussed on the nature of tangible interaction with the dead. It has emphasised the relationship between later generations and the dead they had inherited, rather than actions which took place as a prelude to funerals or during the ceremonies. It has attempted to reveal nuances within different and evolving trajectories of belief and practice which centred on physical interaction with the dead. It has situated these haptic practices within other impactful social perceptions, constructs, and practices. Fresh evidence has been brought to the foreground through this thesis, and familiar evidence has been contextualised within broader practices.

The physical relationship between touch and materiality has great potential for future archaeological research, which is currently dominated by social historians (Classen, 2005; 2012; Candlin, 2010), art historians (Dent, 2014) and anthropologists (e.g. Howes, 2003; 2005). Museum studies, such as Pye (2007) are already beginning to bring the relationship between privileges of touch, materiality, and epistemology amongst modern interactions with archaeological handling collections to the fore as a distinct area of sensory study. The variety

of extant material evidence which bears evidence of haptic erosion and staining has much potential for archaeological studies particularly as very little of this is currently being engaged with.

Haptic culture did not necessarily follow the same rules, expressions, or expectations as optic regimes. Therefore, tracing the specifics of haptic culture in any period is necessary before integrating it within the other senses. So while a holistic approach to the senses is vital, it requires a consideration of each of the senses within their cultural emphases and taboos. This in turn may reveal tensions between different senses in different contexts. The degree of contestation and collective versus singular experiences of embodied interactions has a wealth of research potential behind it.

The privileging of touch, particularly of the dead, has been a recurring theme as it has a long history in mortuary contexts evident in material and documentary evidence. Touch is neither monolithic in its enactment nor reception. Whereas smell and sound might 'spill over' physical boundaries, and their dispersal can be difficult to control; touch and proximity can be facilitated or deprived through physical and conceptual boundaries and barriers. You can see, smell, or hear things without necessarily being in the same place as the source, but touch and taste (a form of touch) requires close proximity to the source. The source and the body must inhabit the same space. Thus touch can reveal physical presence, and the bodily gestures or poses enacted in order to touch the material source. Studying haptic culture in mortuary contexts allows us to explore the rich variety of ways the 'afterlives' of the dead, their monuments, and their human remains were, very literally, handled by the living.

Bibliography

Addyman, P. & Morns, R. (Eds.) (1976). *The archaeological study of churches*. London: CBA Research Report 13.

Ainsworth, W.H. (1855). *Ballads: romantic, fantastical, and humorous.* London: G. Routledge & Co.

Andrefsky, W. (2005). *Lithics: macroscopic approaches to analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Angenendt, A. (2010) 'Relics and their venerati'. In M. Bagnoli, H.A. Klein, C. G. Mann, & J. Robinson (Eds.) *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics and devotion in medieval Europe* (pp. 19-28). London: British Museum Press.

Anon (1796). 'A 'Curious' skeleton discovered buried in Exeter Cathedral'. *The Gentleman's Magazine, 66*(2), p.1049.

Anon. (1838). *The tourist's guide being the concise history and description of Ripon* (2nd Ed.). Ripon: John Lewis Linney.

Anon. (1839). *The history of Ripon.* Ripon: Procter & Vickers.

Appleby, J., Mitchell, P.D., Robinson, C., Brough, A., Rutty G., Harris, R.A., Thompson, D., & Morgan, B. (2014a). ''The scoliosis of Richard III, last Plantagenet King of England: diagnosis and clinical significance'. *The Lancet, 383,* p.1944.

Appleby, J., Rutty, G.A., Hainsworth, S.V., Woosnam-Savage, R.C., Morgan, B., Brough, A., Earp, R.W., Robinson, C., King, T.E., Morris, M., & Buckley, R. (2014b). 'Perimortem trauma in King Richard III: a skeletal analysis'. *The Lancet,* online edition 17 September 2014.

Aspöck, E. (2011). 'Past "disturbances" of graves as a source: taphonomy and interpretation of reopened early medieval inhumation graves at Brunn am Gebirge (Austria) and Winnall II (England)'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology 30*(3), pp.299–324.

Aspöck, E. & Klevnäs, A. (2011/2012). ‘Past disturbances of graves: the reopening of graves for grave-robbery and other practices’. *The European Archaeologist, 36,* pp.66-70.

Aston, M. (1988) *England's iconoclasts volume 1: laws against images.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aston, M. (2003). 'Public worship and iconoclasm'. In D. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist (Eds), *The archaeology of Reformation* (pp. 9-28). Leeds: Maney.

Aston, M. (2015). *Broken idols of the English Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aylmer, G. & Tillerm J. (Eds.) (2000). *Hereford Cathedral: a history.* London: Hambledon.

Ayloffe, J. (1786). ‘An account of the body of King Edward the First as it appeared on opening his tomb in the year 1774’. *Archaeologia 3*, pp.386-412.

Badham, S. (2003). 'Medieval greens: recycling brasses and their slabs’. *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society 93,* p.673.

Bailey, D. W. (2005). *Prehistoric figurines: representation and corporeality in the Neolithic.* London: Routledge.

Bailey, R. (1991). ‘St Wilfrid, Ripon and Hexham’. In C. Karkov & R Farrell (Eds.), *Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology* (pp.3-25). Oxford, O.H.: American Early Medieval Studies.

Bailey, R. (1996). Seventh-Century work at Ripon and Hexham’. In T. Tatton-Brown & J. Munby (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (pp. 9-18). Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 42.

Bailey, R. (2013). ‘St Wilfrid a European Anglo-Saxon’. In N.J. Higham (Ed.), *Wilfrid: abbot, bishop, saint* (pp.112-123). Donington: Shaun Tyas.

Barber, E. (1902). ‘The discovery of Ralph Higden's tomb’ *Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historical Society, 9,* pp.*115-128.*

Barber, P. (1988). *Vampires, burial and death: folklore and reality.* New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press.

Barritt, P. & Getty Images (n.d.). 'United Kingdom, Kent, Canterbury Cathedral, Trinity Chapel Ambulatory, Cure of Richard of Sunieve, Becket Miracle Window 6, medieval stained glass'. Retrieved from *Getty Images* at: http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/photo/united-kingdom-kent-canterbury-cathedral-high-res-stock-photography/149279321

Bartlett, R. (2013). *Why can the dead do such great things: saints and worshippers from the martyrs to the Reformation.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Barton, Punshon & Ripon Dean & Chapter. (2002). *Ripon Cathedral: 1300 years of worship and history.* Ripon: Dean & Chapter of Ripon Cathedral.

Bassett, S. (Ed.) (1992). *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Bennett, T. (1995). *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics.* London: Routledge.

Bennett, T. (1998). 'The exhibitionary complex'. In R. Greenberg, B.W. Ferguson, & S. Nairne (Eds.), *Thinking about exhibition* (pp. 81-112). London: Routledge.

Biddle, M. (1976). 'The archaeology of the church: a widening horizon'. In P. Addyman & R. Morns (Eds.), *The archaeological study of churches* (pp. 65-71). London: CBA Research Report 13.

Biddle, M. (1979). 'St Albans Abbey chapter house excavations 1978'. *Friends of St Albans Abbey Occasional Paper,* 1.

Biddle, M. (1986). 'Archaeology, architecture, and the cult of the saints in Anglo-Saxon England'. In L.A.S. Butler & R.K. Morris (Eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (pp.1-31). London: CBA Report 60.

Biddle, M. (2001). ‘Remembering St Alban: the site of the shrine and the discovery of the twelfth-century Purbeck marble shrine table’. In M. Henig & P. Lindley (Eds.), *Alban and St Albans: Roman and medieval architecture, art and archaeology* (pp.124-161). Leeds: British Archaeological Association Transactions 24.

Biddle, M. & Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1980). ‘England’s Premier Abbey: the medieval chapter house of St Albans abbey and its excavation in 1978’. *Expedition, 22*(2), pp. 17-32.

Biddle, M., & Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1986). ‘St Albans’. *Current Archaeology,* 101, pp.178-183.

Biddle, M., & Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1992). ‘St Albans’ *Current Archaeology*, 130, pp. 412-13.

Biddle, M. & Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (2008). ‘Alban’. In M. Biddle & B. Kjølbye-Biddle (Eds.), *St Albans Cathedral and Abbey* (pp. 11-31). London: Scala & The Friends of St Albans Abbey.

Bille, M., Hastrup, F., & Sørensen, T. F. (Eds.). (2010). *An anthropology of absence: materializations of transcendence and loss.* New York, N.Y.: Springer.

Binski, P. (1996). *Medieval death: ritual and representation.* London: British Museum Press.

Bispham, W. (1890). *Memoranda concerning the family of Bispham in Great Britain and the United States of America.* New York, N.Y.: Gilliss Brothers.

Blake, E. (2007). ‘Space, Spatiality, and Archaeology’. In L. Meskell & R. Preucel (Eds.), *A companion to social archaeology* (pp.230-254). Malden: Blackwell.

Blair, J. (2002). ‘A handlist of Anglo-Saxon saints’. In A. Thacker & R. Sharpe (Eds.), *Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west* (pp. 495–565). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blair, J. (2009). *The church in Anglo-Saxon society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blair, J. & Pyrah, C. (Eds). (1996). *Church Archaeology: research directions for the future.* York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 104.

Blick, S. (2001). 'Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral' *Mirator Syyskuu, September,* pp.1-27.

Blick, S. (2005). 'Reconstructing the shrine of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral'. In S. Blick & R. Tekippe (Eds.), *Art and architecture of late medieval pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (pp. 405-445). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Blick, S. (2011). 'Votives, images, interaction and pilgrimage to the tomb and shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury cathedral'. In S. Blick & L. Gelfand (Eds.) *Push me, pull you: art and devotional interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance art* (pp.21-58). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Bloch, M. (1973). *The royal touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France* (Trans. J.E. Anderson). London: Routledge.

Bloch, M. (1989). *The royal touch: monarchy and miracles in medieval France and England* (Trans. J.E. Anderson). New York, N.Y.: Dorset Press

Blockley, K., Sparks, M., & Tatton-Brown, T. (1997) *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: archaeology, history and architecture: volume 1.* Canterbury: The Dean & Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral and Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

Bond, F. (1905). *Gothic architecture in England.* London: Batsford.

Borland, J. (2013). 'Unruly reading: the consuming role of touch in the experience of a medieval manuscript'. In J. Wilcox (Ed.), *Scraped, stroked, and bound: materially engaged readings of medieval manuscripts* (pp.97-114). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Boutell C. (1846) 'Discovery at St Albans'. *Archaeological Journal,* 2, pp. 386-7.

Bovey, A. (Ed) (2013). *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury.* Leeds: British Archaeological Association/Maney.

Bradley, R. (2000). *An archaeology of natural places.* London: Routledge.

Bradshaw, H. (1887 [*c.*1513]). *The life of St Werburghe* (Ed. C. Horstmann). London: N. Trübner & co.

Brasinski, P. & Fryxell, A. (2013). 'The smell of relics: authenticating saintly bones and the role of scent in the sensory experience of medieval Christian veneration'. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, 23*(1), pp. 1-15

Brickley, M.B. & Buckberry, J.L. (2015). 'Picking up the pieces: utilizing the diagnostic potential of poorly preserved remains'. *International Journal of Paleopathology, 8,* pp.51-54.

Briggs, M.S. (1952). *Goths and Vandals; a study of the destruction, neglect, and preservation of historical buildings in England.* London: Constable.

British Museum. (1832). 'The British Museum'. *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,* (7 April), pp.13-14.

Britton, J. (1826). *The history and antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Exeter.* London: Longman & co.

Brooke Little, J. (1902) *The Law of Burial: including all the burial acts as modified or affected by the local government (England and Wales) Act, 1894* (3rd Ed.). London: Shaw & Sons.

Brooke, D. & Knowles, *C.* (2002). *The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brooks, N. (1996). *The early history of the church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066.* London: Leicester University Press.

Brown, A., Peters, C. & Rosser, G. (1996). 'The late Medieval English church: parish devotion in buildings and landscape'. In J. Blair & *C.* Pyrah (Eds.), *Church Archaeology: research directions for the future* (pp.63-84). York: CBA Research Report 104.

Brown, P. (1981) *The cult of the saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity.* Chicago, I.L.: University of Chicago Press.

Browne, T. (1712). *Repertorium, or some account of the tombs and monuments in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* London: Thomas Browne.

Brück, J. (2005). 'Experiencing the past? The development of a phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory'. *Archaeological Dialogues, 12,* pp 45-72

Buchli, V. & Lucas, G. (2001a). 'The absent past: archaeologies of the contemporary past'. In V. Buchli & G. Lucas (Eds.) *Archaeologies of the contemporary past* (pp.3-18). London: Routledge.

Buchli, V. & Lucas, G. (2001b). 'Presencing absence'. In V. Buchli & G. Lucas (Eds.) *Archaeologies of the contemporary past* (pp.171-174). London: Routledge.

Buckham, S. (1999). ''The men that worked for England they have their graves at home': consumerist issues within the production and purchase of gravestones in Victorian York'. In S. Tarlow & S. West (Eds.), *The familiar past? archaeology in later historical Britain* (pp. 199-214). London: Routledge.

Buckham, S. (2003). 'Commemoration as an expression of personal relationships and group identities: a case study of York Cemetery'. *Mortality, 8*(2), pp. 160-175.

Buckland, F. (1882). *Curiosities of natural history: fourth series.* London: Richard Bentley & Son.

Buckley, R., Morris, M. Appleby, J. King, T., O'Sullivan, D., & Foxhall, L. (2013). "The king in the car park' new light on the death of Richard III in the Grey Friars church, Leicester, in 1485'. *Antiquity, 87*(336), pp. 519-538

Burial Act 1852 (Chapter 85 Vict.). Retrieved from *UK Statute Law Database* at:http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1852/85/pdfs/ukpga_18520085_en.pdf

Burial Act 1853 (Chapter 134 Vict.). Retrieved from *UK Statute Law Database* at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1853/134/pdfs/ukpga_18530134_en.pdf

Burne, R.V.H. (1948a) ‘The dissolution of St Werburgh's abbey’ *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society 37*, pp.5-36.

Burne, R.V.H. (1948b) 'The founding of Chester Cathedral’ *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society 37*, pp.37-68.

Burne, R.V.H. (1951). ‘Chester in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth’. *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society, 38,* pp.49-73.

Burne, R.V.H. (1952) 'The history of Chester cathedral in the reigns of James I and Charles I', *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 39* pp.59–92

Burne, R.V.H. (1953) 'Chester Cathedral after the Restoration' *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 40* pp. 25-54.

Burne, R.V.H. (1954). ‘Chester Cathedral in the Eighteenth Century Part I: 1701-1740’. *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 41* pp.39-61.

Burne, R.V.H. (1955). ‘Chester Cathedral in the Eighteenth Century Part II: 1740-1787’. *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 42* pp.21-43.

Burne, R.V.H. (1956). 'Chester Cathedral, 1787–1837' *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 43* pp.1-26.

Burne, R.V.H. (1958). *Chester Cathedral: from its founding by Henry VIII to the accession of Queen Victoria.* London: S.P.*C.*K.

Burne, R.V.H. (1960). ‘Life in St Werburgh's Abbey in the fourteenth century' *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historical Society, 47*, pp.1-8.

Burne, R.V.H. (1962). *The Monks of Chester: the history of St Werburgh's Abbey*. London: S.P.*C*.K.

Busby, R. (1987). *The Monumental Brass Society: a Short History 1887-1987.* London: The Monumental Brass Society.

Butler, J. (1988). ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory’. *Theatre Journal, 40*(4), pp. 519-531.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity.* London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1995). *The quest for Becket's bones: mystery of the relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury*. Yale, C.T.: Yale University Press.

Caciola, N. (1996). ‘Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture’. *Past and Present, 152*, pp. 3-45.

Cambridge, E. (2013). ‘The sources and function of Wilfrid’s architecture at Ripon and Hexham’. In N.J. Higham (Ed.), *Wilfrid: abbot, bishop, saint* (pp. 136-151). Donington: Shaun Tyas.

Cambridge University Library (n.d.). Ms Ee 359 and Ee.3.59, fo. 29v. Retrieved from: http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-EE-00003-00059/1

Camden, W. (1772 [1586]). *Britannia.* (Trans. E. Gibson). London: W. Boyer.

Camden, W. (1870 [1605]). *Remains concerning Britain.* London: J.R. Smith.

Candlin, F. (2010). *Art, museums and touch.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Care of Cathedrals Measure 1990. Retrieved from *UK Statute Law Database* at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukcm/1990/2/contents

Catholic Church of England and Wales (2009). 'St Joseph's, Gerrard's Cross' Retrieved from: *The relics of St Thérèse of Lisieux visit England and Wales* https://www.flickr.com/photos/catholicism/sets/72157622549856726/

Caviness, M.H. (1981). *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/British Academy.

Champion, M. (2012). 'The Medium is the Message: Votive Devotional Imagery and Gift Giving amongst the Commonality in the Late Medieval Parish' *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3(4), pp. 103-123.

Chapman, J. (2000). *Fragmentation in archaeology: people, places and broken objects in the prehistory of South Eastern Europe.* London: Routledge.

Cheetham, F.W. (1973). *Medieval English alabaster carvings in the Castle Museum, Nottingham.* Nottingham: City of Nottingham Art Galleries and Museums Committee.

Cherry, B. (1991). 'Flying angels and bishop's tombs, a fifteenth-century conundrum'. In F. Kelly (Ed.). *Medieval art and architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (pp.199-204). London: The British Archaeological Association.

Cherry, J. (1991). 'The ring of Bishop Grandisson'. In F. Kelly (Ed.). *Medieval art and architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (pp.205-209). London: The British Archaeological Association.

Cherryson, A. (2007). 'Disturbing the dead: urbanisation, the church and the post-burial treatment of human remains in early medieval Wessex *c.*600-1100AD'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in History & Archaeology, 14*, pp. 130-142.

Cherryson, A., Crossland, Z., & Tarlow, S. (Eds.) (2012). *A fine and private place: the archaeology of death and burial in post-medieval Britain and Ireland.* Leicester: University of Leicester Monograph 22.

Cheshire Record Office EDD 4/11. Circular for donations for Pearson memorial 1859.

Choay, F. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument.* (Trans. L. O'Connell) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christie, R.C. (1887). *Annales Cestriensis or Chronicle of the Abbey of St Werburg at Chester.* London: Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

Classen, C. (1998). *The colour of angels: cosmology, gender and the aesthetic imagination*. London: Routledge.

Classen, C. (Ed.) (2005). *The book of touch.* Oxford: Berg.

Classen, C. (2007). 'Museum manners: the sensory life of the early museum'. *Journal of Social History, 40*(4), pp.895-914.

Classen, C. (2012). *The deepest sense: a cultural history of touch.* Urbana, I.L.: University of Illinois Press.

Classen, C., & Howes, D. (2006). 'The Museum as Sensescape: Western sensibilities and indigenous artifacts'. In E. Edwards, C. Gosden & R. Phillips, (Eds.), *Sensible objects: colonialism, museums and material culture* (pp.199-222). Oxford: Berg.

Clifton-Taylor, A. (1967). *The cathedrals of England.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Cody, L.F. (2003). "Every Lane Teems With Instruction, and Every Alley Is Big With Erudition': graffiti in eighteenth century London'. In T. Hitchcock & H. Shore (Eds.) *The streets of London: from the Great Fire to the Great Exhibition.* (pp. 82-100). London: Rivers Oram Press.

Coldstream, N. (Ed.) (1982). *Medieval art and architecture at Canterbury before 1220.* Leeds: British Archaeological Association/Maney.

Collinson, P. (1995). ‘The Protestant cathedral, 1541-1660’. In P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks (Eds.), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (pp. 154-203). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Covington, S. (2013). “Broken verses across a bloodied land’: violence and the limits of language in the English Civil War’. In J. Davies (Ed.), *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe* (pp.127-150). Farnham: Ashgate.

Cowdrey, H.E.J. (2003). *Lanfranc: scholar, monk, and archbishop.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Craughwell, T.J. (2011). *Saints preserved: an encyclopaedia of relics.* New York, N.Y.: Image.

Crook, J, (2011). *English medieval shrines.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Crossland, Z. (2009). ‘Acts of estrangement. The post-mortem making of self and other’. *Archaeological Dialogues, 16*(1), *pp.*102–125.

Crossley, F. (1921). *English church monuments A.D. 1150-1550.* London: Batsford.

Cummings, V. (2002). ‘Experiencing texture and transformation in the British Neolithic’ *Oxford Journal of Archaeology, 21*(3), pp.249-261.

Curiositas. (1833). Letter to the Editor. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*. Issue 3513.

Daniell, C. (1997). *Death and burial in medieval England: 1066-1550*. London: Routledge.

Daniell, C. (2011). ‘Graffiti, calliglyphs and markers in the UK’ *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress 7*(2), pp. 454-476.

Danks, W. (1899). *Ripon Cathedral.* London: Ibister.

Dart, J. (1726). *The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury.* London: J. Cole.

Davies, J. (2013). ‘Introduction’. In J. Davies (Ed.), *Aspects of violence in Renaissance Europe* (pp.1-16). Farnham: Ashgate.

Dent, P. (Ed.) (2014). *Sculpture and touch.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Devlin, Z.L. & Graham, E-J. (Eds.) (2015). *Death embodied: archaeological approaches to the treatment of the corpse.* Oxford: Oxbow.

Dodson, A. (2004). *The royal tombs of Great Britain.* London: Duckworth.

Downing, M. (1999). *The Medieval military effigies remaining in Shropshire.* Shrewsbury: Monumental Books.

Downing, M. (2002). ‘Medieval military effigies up to 1550 remaining in Worcestershire’. *Transactions of Worcestershire Archaeological Society, 18,* pp.133-210.

Downing, M. (2010a). *Medieval military monuments in Lincolnshire.* Oxford: Archaeopress BAR Series 515.

Downing, M. (2010b). *Military effigies of England & Wales volume 1: Bedfordshire-Derbyshire.* Shrewsbury: Monumental Books.

Dressler, R. (2008). ‘Gender as Spectacle and Construct: The Gyvernay Effigies at St. Mary's Church, Limington’ *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art, 1,* pp.1-24.

Dressler, R. (2012). ‘Sculptural representation and spatial appropriation in a medieval chantry chapel’. In E. Gertsman & J. Stevenson (Eds.), *Thresholds of Medieval visual culture: liminal spaces* (pp.217-236). Boydell: Woodbridge.

Driscoll, S.T. (2002). *Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988-1997.* Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 18.

Dudley, S.H. (Ed). (2010). *Museum materialities: objects, engagements, interpretations.* London: Routledge.

Dudley, S.H. (Ed). (2012). *Museum objects: experiencing the properties of things.* London: Routledge.

Duffy, E. (1992). *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England, c.1400-c.1580.* New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press.

Duffy, E. (2012). *Saints, sacrilege and sedition: religion and conflict in the Tudor Reformations.* London: Bloomsbury.

Duffy, M. (2003). 'St Michael's chapel, Canterbury cathedral: a Lancastrian mausoleum' *Archaeologia Cantiana, 123,* pp. 309-332.

Dugdale, W. (1818 [1658]). *The history of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.* London: Paternoster Row.

Dugdale, W. (1692 [1643]). *Monasticon Anglicanum.* London: Keble & Rhodes.

Duggan, A. (2004). *Thomas Becket.* London: Arnold

Eaton, T. (2000). *Plundering the past: Roman stonework in medieval Britain.* Stroud: Tempus.

Eavis, A. (2010). 'Exhibition of St William Shrines.' *Vidimus, 42,* retrieved from: http://vidimus.cch.kcl.ac.uk/archive/issue_42_2010/issue_42_2010-02.html

Elias, N. (2000 [1939]). *The civilizing process: sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations* (Trans. E. Jepbcott). Oxford: Blackwell

English Heritage SJ4065. WM Thackeray cenotaph and Thackeray and Jones tombs in north part of Overleigh Cemetery.

Erasmus, D. (1526 [1957]). 'A pilgrimage for Religion's Sake'. In C.R. Thompson (Ed. & Trans.) *Erasmus: ten colloquies* (pp.56-91). New York, N.Y.: The Liberal Arts Press.

Erskine, A.M., Hope, V., & Lloyd, L.J. (1988). *Exeter Cathedral: a short history and description.* Exeter: Dean & Chapter of Exeter Cathedral.

Esdaile, K. (1927). *English monumental sculpture since the Reformation.* London: SPCK.

Esdaile, K. (1935). ‘Notes on three monumental drawings from Sir Edward Dering's collections in the library of the Society of Antiquaries’. *Archaeologia Cantiana, 47*, pp.219-234.

Esdaile, K. (1946). *English church monuments, 1510 to 1840.* London: Batsford.

Eustace, K. (1995). ‘The post-Reformation monuments’. In P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks (Eds.) *A history of Canterbury Cathedral* (pp. 511-552). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Exeter Cathedral (1818). *A guide to the cathedral church of Exeter.* Plymouth: E. Hoxland & Co.

Feather, J. & Thomas, C.E. (Eds.) (2013a). *Violent masculinities: male aggression in early modern texts and culture.* New York, N.Y.: Palgrave MacMillan

Feather, J. & Thomas, C.E (2013b). ‘Introduction’. In J. Feather & C.E. Thomas (Eds.), *Violent masculinities: male aggression in early modern texts and culture* (pp.1-20). New York, N.Y.: Palgrave MacMillan

Field, J. (2007). *Durham cathedral: light of the north.* London: Third Millennium.

Field, T. (2001). *Touch.* Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press.

Finch, J. (1991). “According to the Qualitie and Degree of the Person Deceased’ Funeral Monuments and the Construction of Social Identity 1400-1750.’ *Scottish Archaeological Review, 8*, pp.105-114.

Finch, J. (2000). *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: an archaeology of commemoration.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 317.

Fisher, J. (2002). ‘Tactile Affects’. *Tessera, 32* (summer), retrieved online at: http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/tessera/issue/view/1514

Fleming, A. (1999). ‘Phenomenology and the Megaliths of Wales: A dreaming too far?’ *Oxford Journal of Archaeology, 18*(2), pp.119-125.

Fleming, A. (2005). ‘Megaliths and post-modernism: the case of Wales’. *Antiquity 79*(306), pp. 921-932.

Fleming, J. (2001). *Graffiti and the writing arts of early modern England.* London: Reaktion.

Forster, B., Robson, B., & Deadman, J. (1993). *Ripon Cathedral: its history and architecture*. York: W. Sessions.

Foucault, M. (1984[1967]) ‘Of other spaces: utopias and heterotopias’. *Architecture/ Mouvement/ Continuité, Oct.,* pp.1-9.

Foucault, M. (1991 [1977]). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (Trans. A. Sheridan). London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (2nd Ed.). London: Routledge.

Fowler, C. (2003). ‘Rates of (Ex)change: decay and growth, memory and the transformation of the dead in early Neolithic southern Britain’. In H. Williams (Ed.), *Archaeologies of remembrance: death and memory in past societies* (pp. 45-63). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Fowler, C. (2004). *The archaeology of personhood: an anthropological approach.* London: Routledge.

Fowler, C. (2008). ‘Fractal bodies in the past and present’. In D. Borić & J. Robb (Eds.) *Past Bodies: body-centred research in archaeology* (pp. 47-57). Oxford: Oxbow.

Fowler, J.T. (1882a). *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon: volume 1.* London: Surtees Society Volume 74.

Fowler, J.T. (1882b). *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon: volume 2.* London: Surtees Society Volume 78.

Fowler, J.T. (1882c). *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon: volume 3.* London: Surtees Society Volume 81.

Fowler, C., & Cummings, V. (2003). ‘Places of transformation: building monuments from water and stone in the Neolithic Irish Sea’. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 9*(1), pp. 1-20.

Fowler, L. & N. Powers (2014). *Doctors, dissection and resurrection men.* London: Museum of London

Foyle, J. (2015). *Lincoln Cathedral: the biography of a great building.* London: Scala.

Foyster, E.A. (1999a). *Manhood in early modern England: honour, sex and marriage.* New York, N.Y.: Longman.

Foyster, E.A. (1999b). ‘Boys will be boys?: manhood and aggression, 1660-1800’. In T. Hitchcock & M. Cohen (Eds.), *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (pp. 151-166). New York, N.Y.: Longman.

Francis Frith collection neg. R322015. ‘Rothwell, The Charnel House in The Church Crypt c.1955’. Retrieved from: http://www.francisfrith.com/rothwell/rothwell-the-charnel-house-in-the-church-crypt-c1955_r322015

Fry, N. (2009). *Chester Cathedral.* London: Scala.

Fryer, A. (1924). *Wooden monumental effigies in England and Wales.* London: Elliot Stock.

Gable, E. & R. Handler (2003) ‘After authenticity at an American heritage site’. In S.M. Low & D. Lawrence-Zunga (Eds.), *The anthropology of space and place: locating culture* (pp. 370-386). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gaimster, D. & R. Gilchrist (Eds.) (2003). *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580.* Leeds: Maney.

Gamboni, D. (1997). *The destruction of art: iconoclasm and vandalism since the French Revolution.* London: Reaktion.

Gardener, A. (1940). *Alabaster tombs of the pre-Reformation in England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geary, P. (1986). ‘Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics’. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The social life of things* (pp.169-194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geary, P. (1990). *Furta Sacra: thefts of relics in the central middle ages* (2nd Ed.). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Geary, P. (1994). *Living with the dead in the Middle Ages.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Geddes, J. (1981). ‘Some tomb railings at Canterbury cathedral’. In A. Detsicas (Ed.), *Collectanea Historica: essays in memory of Stuart Rigold* (pp.66-73). Kent: Kent Archaeological Society.

Gellar, M. (2007). ‘Archaeology of touch: Babylonian magic and healing’. In E. Pye (Ed.), *The power of touch* (pp. 63-72). Walnut Creek, C.A.: Left Coast Press.

Gent, T. (1733). *The ancient and modern history of the loyal town of Rippon.* York: Print office in Stonegate.

Gibbens, L. (1994). *An introduction to church registers.* Lutterworth: Federation of Family History Societies.

Gibbens, L. (1999). *Using death and burial records for family historians* (2nd Ed.). Lutterworth: Federation of Family History Societies.

Gibson, J. (1986). *The ecological approach to visual perception.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gibson, M. (1995). ‘Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220’. In P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks (Eds.), *A history of Canterbury Cathedral* (pp. 38-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gilchrist, R. (1994). *Gender and material culture: the archaeology of religious women.* London: Routledge.

Gilchrist R. (1999). *Gender and archaeology: contesting the past.* London: Routledge.

Gilchrist, R. (2005). *Norwich Cathedral Close: the evolution of the English cathedral landscape.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Gilchrist, R. (2012). *Medieval life: archaeology and the life course.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Gilchrist, R. & Mytum, H. (1989). *The archaeology of rural monasteries.* Oxford: BAR.

Gilchrist, R., & Sloane, B. (2005). *Requiem: the medieval monastic cemetery in Britain.* London: MoLA.

Giles, K. (2007). 'Seeing and believing: visuality and space in pre-modern England'. *World Archaeology, 39*(1), pp.105-121

Giles, K., & Giles, M. (2007). 'The writing on the wall: the concealed communities of the East Yorkshire horselads' *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 11*(4), pp 336-357.

Gittings, C. (1984). *Death, burial and the individual in early modern England.* London: Routledge.

Gittos, B., & Gittos, M. (1989). 'A survey of East Riding sepulchral monuments before 1500,'. In C. Wilson, (Ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (pp.91-108). London: British Archaeological Association Transactions 9.

Gordon, A. (2002). 'The Act of libel: conscripting civic space in early modern England' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 32* (2) pp. 375-397.

Gordon, B., & Marshall, P. (Eds) (2000). *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gostling, W. (1825[1779]). *A walk in and about the city of Canterbury* (2nd Ed). London: William Blackley.

Graham, E-J. (2011). 'Memory and materiality: re-embodying the Roman funeral'. In V. Hope & J. Huskinson (Eds.), *Memory and Mourning: Studies in Roman Death* (pp. 21-39). Oxford: Oxbow.

Graves, P.C. (2000). *The Form and Fabric of Belief: an archaeology of the lay experience of religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon.* Oxford: BAR British Series 311.

Graves, P. *C.* (2008). 'From an archaeology of iconoclasm to an anthropology of the body: images, punishment, and personhood in England, 1500–1660'. *Current Anthropology, 49* (1), pp.35-60.

Green, V. (1797). *An account of the discovery of the body of King John, in the cathedral church of Worcester, July 17th, 1797.* London: V&R Green.

Gregory, J. (1995). 'Canterbury and the Ancient Regime: the Dean and Chapter, 1660-1828'. In P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks (Eds.) *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (pp. 204-255). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Groves, S., Roberts, C., Johnstone, C., Hall, R., & Dobney, K. (2003). 'A high status burial from Ripon Cathedral, North Yorkshire: differential diagnosis of a chest deformity'. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology, 13,* pp. 358-368.

Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) (1998). *Masculinity in medieval Europe*. New York, N.Y.: Addison Wesley Longman

Hall, R.A. (1995). 'Antiquaries and archaeology in and around Ripon Minster'. In L.R. Hoey (Ed.), *Yorkshire monasticism: archaeology, art and architecture, from the 7th to 16th centuries* (pp.12-30). Leeds: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 16.

Hall, R.A. & Whyman, M. (1996). 'Settlement and monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, From the 7th to 11th Centuries A.D.' *Medieval Archaeology, 40,* pp.62-150.

Hall, R. (2011) 'Keyhole archaeology: Ripon Cathedral Crypt'**.** Retrieved from *York Community Archaeology* at: http://yorkcommunityarchaeology.pbworks.com/w/page/36264214/Keyhole%20Archaeology%3A%20Ripon%20Cathedral%20Crypt

Hallam, E. (2008). *The anatomy museum: death and the body displayed.* London: Reaktion.

Hallett, C. (1901). *Ripon: the Cathedral and See.* London: George Bell & Sons.

Hamilakis, Y. (2013). *Archaeology of the senses: human experience, memory and affect.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harding, V. (1989). 'And one more may be laid there': the location of burials in Early Modern London'. *London Journal,14,* pp.112-29.

Harding, V. (1992). 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London' In S. Bassett (Ed.) *Death in Towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600* (pp. 119-35). Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Harding, V. (2002). *The dead and the living in Paris and London, 1500-1670.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, L. & Deadman, J. (1980). *The architecture of Ripon Cathedral.* York: Sessions.

Harvey, E.D. (2003). 'Introduction: the senses of all senses'. In E. D. Harvey (Ed.) *Sensible Flesh: on touch in early modern culture* (pp. 1-21). Philadelphia: P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Heller-Roazen, D. (2007). *The inner touch: archaeology of a sensation.* New York, N.Y.: Zone.

Hemingway, J. (1831) *History of the city of Chester, from its foundation to the present time.* Chester: J. Fletcher.

Henderson, J. (2013). *Science and archaeology of materials: an investigation of inorganic materials.* London: Routledge.

Henig, M., & Lindley, P. (Eds.) (2001). *Alban and St Albans: Roman and medieval architecture, art and archaeology.* Leeds: British Archaeological Association.

Hetherington, K. (2003). 'Spatial textures: place, touch, and praesentia'. *Environment and Planning A 35*(11) pp.1933–1944

Hewett, J.W. (1849a). ‘Remarks on the monumental brasses and certain decorative remains in the cathedral church of St Peter, Exeter.” *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society Transactions, 3*, pp.90-102.

Hewett, J.W. (1849b). ‘Complete monumentarium of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter’ *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society Transactions, 3*, pp.107-136.

Highet, M. (2005). ‘Body snatching and grave robbing. Bodies for science’, *History and anthropology* 16(4), pp.415–40.

Historic England AL0196/007/02. Crypt, Hythe Church. Retrieved from: http://www.mediastorehouse.com/crypt-hythe-church-al0196-007-02/print/10928627.html

Hockey, J., Woodthorpe, K., & Komaromy, C. (Eds.) (2010). *The matter of death: space, place and materiality.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Holme, W. (1572). *The Fall and Eville Sucesse of Rebellion, a poem by Wilfrid Holme.*

Hooker, J. (1765). ‘A correct catalogue of all the bishops of Tawton, Crediton, and Exeter, to the year of our Lord 1578’. In A. Brice (Ed.), *The Antient History of the City of Exeter: compiled and digested from the works of Hooker, Izacke, and others* (pp.239-290). Exeter: R. Trewman.

Howes, D. (2003). *Sensual relations: engaging the senses in culture and social theory.* Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press

Hudson, K. (1978). *Exploring cathedrals.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Hulse, C., & Erickson, P. (Eds.) (2000). *Early modern visual culture: representation, race, empire in Renaissance England.* Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hutchinson, R. (2003). 'Tombs of brasses are spent: Reformation reuse of monumental brasses'. In D. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (450-68). Leeds: Maney.

Hutton, W. (1785). *Journey from Birmingham to London.* Birmingham: Pearson & Rollason.

Impey, O. & MacGregor, A. (1985). *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Irvine, J.T. (1893). *An attempt to recover the first design of the west front of the abbey church of Saint Peter, now Peterborough cathedral, Northamptonshire.* Peterborough: C. Edwards.

Izacke, R. (1677). *Antiquities of the city of Exeter.* London: Marriott & Marriott.

Izacke, R., & Izacke, S. (1765). 'The Antient History and Description of the City of Exeter'. In A. Brice (Ed.) *The Antient History of the City of Exeter: compiled and digested from the works of Hooker, Izacke, and others* (pp.1-238). Exeter: R. Trewman.

Jessop, A. (1888). 'The condition of the Archdeaconry of Norwich in 1603'. *Norfolk Archaeology, 10,* pp.1-184.

Jones, J. (1984). *How to record graveyards* (2nd Ed.). London: CBA & RESCUE.

Jones-Baker, D. (1981). 'The graffiti of folk motifs in Cotswold Churches'. *Folklore, 92*(2), pp. 160-167.

Josipovici, G. (1996). *Touch.* New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press.

Juggins, M. (2009). 'Protomartyrdom'. Retrieved from *Herts Memories: history, memories and photos of Hertfordshire* website at: http://www.hertsmemories.org.uk/page_id__154_path__0p2p88p290p.aspx

Kantorowicz, E. & Jordan, W.C. (1997). *The King's two bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Katz, D. (1989). *The world of touch* (Trans. L.E. Krueger). Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum.

Kelly, F. (Ed) (1991). *Medieval art and architecture at Exeter Cathedral.* London: The British Archaeological Association.

King, C. (2011). 'Strangers in a Strange Land': immigrants and urban culture in early modern Norwich. In C. King, & D. Sayer (Eds.), *The archaeology of post-medieval religion* (pp. 83-106). Woodbridge: Boydell.

King, C., & Sayer, D. (Eds.) (2011). *The archaeology of post-medieval religion.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

King, P. (1990). 'The cadaver tomb in England: novel manifestations of an old idea' *Church Monuments, 5,* pp.26-38.

Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1975). 'A cathedral cemetery: problems in excavation and interpretation'. *World Archaeology 7*(1), pp. 87-108.

Kjølbye-Biddle, B. (1992). 'Dispersal or concentration: the disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 Years'. In S. Bassett (Ed.), *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600* (pp. 210-247). Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Klevnäs, A. M. (2007). 'Robbing the dead at Gamla Uppsala, Sweden'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge, 22*(1), 24-42.

Klevnäs, A. M. (2013). *Whodunnit? Grave Robbery in Anglo-Saxon England and the Merovingian Kingdoms.* Oxford: BAR International Series 2582.

Klevnäs, A.M. (2015). 'Abandon Ship! digging out the dead from the Vendel boat-graves'. *Norwegian Archaeological Review, 48*(1) pp.1-20.

Knoell, S. (2001). 'An eternal academic community: Oxford Memorials, 1580-1680'. *Church Monuments, 16,* pp.58-64.

Knüsel, C.J., Batt, *C.*M., Cook, G., Montgomery, J., Müldner, G., Ogden, A.R., Palmer, *C.*, Stern, B., Todd, J., & Wilson, A.S. (2010). 'The Identity of the St Bees Lady, Cumbria: an osteobiographical approach'. *Medieval Archaeology, 54,* pp.271-311.

Knüsel, C. (2013) '"The holy blissful martir for to seke": the killing of Archbishop Thomas Becket (and the whereabouts of his remains)'. Conference Paper presented at the *Speaking with the Dead Conference* at Exeter Cathedral and the Devon & Exeter Institution, 1-2 November.

Krmpotich, C., Fontein, J., & Harries, J. (2010). 'The substance of bones: the emotive materiality and affective presence of human remains. *Journal of Material Culture 15(4)* pp. 371–384

Krueger, D. (2010). 'The religion of relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium'. In M. Bagnoli, H.A. Klein, C. G. Mann, & J. Robinson (Eds.), *Treasures of heaven: saints, relics and devotion in medieval Europe* (pp. 5-18). London: British Museum Press.

Lamb, A.L., Evans, J.E., Buckley, R., & Appleby, J. (2014). 'Multi-isotope analysis demonstrates significant lifestyle changes in King Richard III' *Journal of Archaeological Science, 30*, pp.1-7.

Lamia, S. (2000). 'Souvenir, synesthesia, and sepulchrum domini: sensory stimuli as memory stratagems' In E. Valdez del Álamo & C.P. Prendegast (Eds.), *Memory and the medieval tomb* (pp.19-40). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Langley P. & Jones, M. (2013). *The king's grave: the search for Richard III.* London: John Murray.

Leach, R. (1975). *An investigation into the use of Purbeck marble in medieval England.* Hartlepool: E. W. Harrison and Sons.

Legg, J.W. & St John Hope, W.H. (1902). *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury.* London: Archibald Constable.

Lehmberg, S. (2005). *English cathedrals: a history.* London: Hambledon.

Leland, J. (1770 [1543]). *The itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, in nine volumes.* Oxford: Thomas Hearne.

Levin, C. & Ward, J. (2008). ‘Introduction’. In J. Ward (Ed.), *Violence, politics and gender in early modern England* (pp.1-11). New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lewis, C.P. & Thacker, A. (2003). 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Religion, 1550-1642'. In C.P. Lewis & A.T. Thacker (Eds.), *A history of the county of Chester:* v*olume 5 part 1* (pp. 109-112). London: Victoria County History.

Liddell, E. (1897). *St Alban’s Abbey.* London: Ibister & Co.

Lindley, P. (2004). ‘Royal tombs of England’. *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies, 36*(3), pp.484-486.

Lindley, P. (2007). *Tomb destruction and scholarship: medieval monuments in early modern England.* Donnington: Shaun Tyas.

Lindley, P. (2012). The artistic practice, protracted publication and posthumous completion of Charles Alfred Stothard's Monument Effigies of Great Britain. *The Antiquaries Journal, 92*, pp.385-426.

Litten, J. (1991). *The English way of death: the common funeral since 1450.* London: Robert Hale.

Llewellyn, N. (2000). *Funerary monuments in post-reformation England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lloyd, R. (1873). *An account of the altars, monuments, and tombs existing AD 1428 in St Albans Abbey: translated from the original Latin.* St Albans: Langley.

Love, R. (2004). *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: the hagiography of the female saints of Ely.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lubman, D. (2004a). ‘Acoustics at the shrine of St Werburgh’. *Journal of the Acoustics Society of America, 116*(4), p.2500.

Lubman, D. (2004b). ‘Acoustics at the Shrine of St. Werburgh’. *Paper 2aAA3 presented 16th November 2004 at the 148th American Society of Acoustics Meeting, San Diego, CA.* Retrieved from: http://acoustics.org/pressroom/httpdocs/148th/lubman.html

Lund, J., (2013). ‘Fragments of a conversion: handling bodies and objects in pagan and Christian Scandinavia, AD 800–1100’. *World Archaeology, 45*(1), pp. 46–63.

Lund, M.A. (2015) 'Richard’s back: death, scoliosis and myth making’. *Medical Humanities* online edition 8 April 2015.

Lysons, D., & Lysons, S. (1810). *Magna Britannia: the county palatine of Chester: Vol. II Part II.* London: Cadell & Davies.

McCombe, R. (2014). ‘Two exhumations and an attempted theft: the posthumous biography of St Cuthbert in the nineteenth century and its historicist narratives’ *Archaeological Journal, 171*, pp.384-402.

McMurray Gibson, G. (1999). ‘Scene and obscene: seeing and performing late medieval childbirth’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 29*(1), pp.7-24.

Mahoney-Swales, D., O'Neill, R., & Willmott, H. (2011). ‘The hidden material culture of death: coffins and grave goods in late 18th- and early 19th-century Sheffield’. In C. King, & D. Sayer (Eds.), *The archaeology of post-medieval religion* (pp. 215-232). Woodbridge: Boydell.

Mandrou, R. (1976). *Introduction to modem France 1500-1640: an essay in historical psychology* (Trans. R.E. Hallmark). New York, NY: Holmes & Meier.

Mason, F.B. (1884). *Gibb's handbook to St Albans and guide to the Abbey.* St Albans: Gibbs & Bamforth.

Meaney, A. (1964). *A gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Meara, D. (2008). *Modern memorial brasses, 1880-2001.* Donington: Shaun Tyas.

Metropolitan Museum, Acc. 2001.310. Pilgrim's Badge of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, 1350–1400. Retrieved from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/473470

Meyer, M. (2012). 'Placing and tracing absence: a material culture of the immaterial'. *Journal of Material Culture, 17*(1), pp.103-110.

Meyer, M. & Woodthorpe, K. (2008). 'The material presence of absence: a dialogue between museums and cemeteries' *Sociological Research Online, 13*(5), pp. 1-18.

Micklethwaite, J.T. (1873). 'A description of the chapel of Saint Erasmus in Westminster Abbey'. *Archaeologia, 44*(1), pp.93-99.

Micklethwaite, J.T. (1882). 'On the crypts at Hexham and Ripon'. *Archaeological Journal 39*, pp.347-354.

Micklethwaite, J.T. (1892). 'Notes on the Saxon Crypt of Ripon Minster'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 14,* pp.191-196.

Mills, S. (2014). *Auditory archaeology: understanding sound and hearing in the past.* Walnut Creek, C.A.: Left Coast Press.

Mitchell, P.D., H-Y, Y., & Buckley, R. (2013). 'The intestinal parasites of King Richard III'. *The Lancet, 382,* p.888.

Molleson, T., & Cox, M. (1993). *The Spitalfields Project volume 2: the anthropology; the middling sort.* York: CBA Research Report 86.

Moody, C.H. (1919). *Handbook to Ripon Cathedral: with some notes on the city.* Ripon: Charles Harker.

Moody, C.H. (1925) *Ripon Cathedral Church of S. Peter and S. Wilfrid.* Ripon: J.H. Taylor.

Morris, J. (1885). *The life and martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury part II* (2nd Ed.). London: Burns & Oates.

Morris, M. & Buckley, R. (2013). *Richard III: the king under the car park.* Leicester: ULAS.

Morris, R. (1979). *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: the building church, 600-1540*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons.

Morris, R. (1983). *The church in British archaeology.* London: CBA Research Report 47.

Morris, R. (1996). 'The archaeological study of cathedrals in England 1800-2000: a review and speculation'. In T. Tatton-Brown, & J. Munby (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (pp. 1-7). Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 42.

Morris, R., & Corbishley, M. (1996). *Churches, cathedrals and chapels.* London: English Heritage.

Munday, N.J. (1974). *The Life of St. Werburgh by Goscelin the Monk: translated by N.J. Munday.* Chester: The Friends of Chester Cathedral.

Museum of London, image 005668 ©. Pilgrim's Badge of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Retrieved from: http://www.museumoflondonimages.com/image_details.php?image_id=338095

Mytum, H. (2000). *Recording and analysing graveyards.* York: Council for British Archaeology Vol. 15.

Nash, G. (2008). 'Encoding a Neolithic landscape: the linearity of burial monuments along Strumble Head, South-West Wales'. *Time and Mind: The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture, 1*(3), pp. 345-362.

Nesbitt, C. (2012). 'Shaping the sacred: light and the experience of worship in Middle Byzantine churches'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 36*(2), pp.139-160.

Nesbitt, C. (2013). 'Experiencing the light: Byzantine church window glass and aesthetics of worship'. In C. Entwistle & L. James (Eds.), *New light on old glass: recent research on Byzantine mosaics and glass.* London: The British Museum Press.

Newbolt, M.R. (1933) *St Werburgh and her shrine.* Chester: Phillip & Goldson.

Niblett, R., & Thompson, I. (2005). *Alban's buried towns: an assessment of St. Albans' archaeology up to AD 1600.* Oxford: Oxbow.

Nilson, B. (1998). *Cathedral shrines of medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Nilson, B. (1999). 'The medieval experience at the shrine'. In J. Stopford (Ed.) *Pilgrimage Explored* (pp. 95-122). Woodbridge: Boydell.

Nilsson Stutz, L. (2003). *Embodied rituals and ritualized bodies: tracing ritual practices in late Mesolithic burials.* Lund, Sweden: Acta Archaeologica Lundensia.

Nilsson Stutz, L. (2008). 'More than metaphor: approaching the human cadaver in archaeology'. In F. Fahlander & T. Oestigaard (Eds.), *The materiality of death: bodies, burials, beliefs* (pp. 19-28). Oxford: BAR International Series 1768.

Norris, M., & Page-Phillips, J. (1987). *Stolen brasses.* London: Monumental Brass Society.

Nugent, R. (2011). Heads and tails: corporeal boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon mortuary arena. Unpublished MPhil Thesis. University of Chester, UK.

Nugent, R. & Williams, H. (2012) 'Sighted surfaces: ocular agency in early Anglo-Saxon cremation burials'. In I-M Back Danielsson, F. Fahlander & Y. Sjöstrand (Eds.) *Encountering imagery: materialities, perceptions, relations* (pp. 187-208). Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 57.

O'Keefe, P. (2001). *Latin Inscriptions in St Albans Abbey.* St. Albans: Fraternity of the Friends of Saint Albans Abbey Occasional Papers 7.

Oliver, G. (1861). *Lives of the bishops of Exeter and a history of the Cathedral.* Exeter: William Broadgate.

Olsen, B. & Pétursdóttir, Þ. (Eds.) (2014). *Ruin memories: materialities, aesthetics and the archaeology of the recent past.* London: Routledge.

Orme, N. (1986). *Exeter Cathedral: as it was 1050-1550.* Exeter: Devon Books.

Orme, N. (1991). ‘The charnel chapel of Exeter Cathedral’. In F. Kelly (Ed.) *Medieval art and architecture at Exeter Cathedral* (pp.162-71). Exeter: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions.

Orme, N. (2009). *Exeter Cathedral: the first thousands years, 400-1550*. Exeter: Impress Books.

Orme, N. (2014). *The churches of medieval Exeter.* Exeter: Impress.

Ormerod, G. (1819). *The history of the county palatine and city of Chester: Vol. I*. London: Lackington & co.

Oosterwijk, S. (2000). ‘Chrysoms, shrouds and infants on English tomb monuments: a question of terminology’ *Church Monuments, 15,* pp.44-64.

Oosterwijk, S. (2003). ‘Madonnas, mothers, mites, and the macabre: three examples of medieval mother-and-child tomb iconography.’ *Church Monuments, 18,* pp.10-22.

Oosterwijk, S. (2005). ‘Food for worms-food for thought: the appearance and interpretation of the ‘verminous’ cadaver in Britain and Europe’. *Church Monuments, 20,* pp.40-80.

Oosterwijk, S. (2008). ‘For no man mai fro dethes stroke fle’: death and the danse macabre iconography in memorial art.’ *Church Monuments, 23,* pp.62-87.

Owen, K. (2009). ‘Social Intercession in Early Modern Gloucestershire’. *Assemblage, 10,* 16-24.

Paine, C. (2013). *Religious objects in museums: private lives and public duties.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Panofsky, E. (1992). *Tomb sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini.* New York, N.Y.: Abrams.

Parkhouse, V.B. (2015). *Memorializing the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902: militarization of the landscape: monuments and memorials in Britain.* Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador.

Parry, G. (1977). ‘John Weever: Antiquary and Medievalist’. *Leeds Studies in English, 9,* pp.84-96.

Passavant, J.D. (1978 [1836]). *Tour of a German Artist in England* (Trans. E. Rigby). Wakefield: E.P. Publishing

Paterson, M. (2007). *The senses of touch: haptics, affects and technologies.* Oxford: Berg.

Peers, C.W. & Page, W. (1908). ‘St Albans Cathedral: the abbey church building’. In W. Page (Ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Hertford: volume 2* (pp.483-507). London: Constable & Victoria County History.

Peltonen, M. (2003). *The duel in early modern England: civility, politeness and honour.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perkins, T. (1903). *The cathedral church of St Albans.* London: George Bell & Sons.

Pevsner, N., & Metcalfe, P. (1985a) *The cathedrals of England: southern England.* York: Viking.

Pevsner, N., & Metcalfe, P. (1985b) *The cathedrals of England: northern England.* York: Viking.

Pitts, M. (2014). *Digging for Richard III.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Pollard, J., & Gillings, M. (1999). ‘Non-portable stone artifacts and contexts of meaning: the tale of Grey Wether’. *World Archaeology, 31*(2), pp. 179-193.

Polwhele, R. (1793). *History of Devonshire: volume 1.* Exeter: Cadell, Johnson, & Dilly.

Powers, N., & Miles, A. (2011). ‘Nonconformist Identities in 19th-century London: archaeological and osteological evidence from the burial grounds of Bow Baptist Chapel and the Catholic Mission of St Mary and St Michael, Tower Hamlets’. In *C.* King, & D. Sayer (Eds.), *The archaeology of post-medieval religion* (pp. 233-248). Woodbridge: Boydell.

Preucel, R.W. & Meskell, L. (2007). 'Places'. In L. Meskell & R.W. Precuel (Eds.). *A companion to social archaeology* (pp.215-229) Maldon: Blackwell.

Pritchard, V. (1967). *English medieval graffiti.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pye, E. (Ed.) (2007). *The power of touch: handling objects in museum and heritage contexts.* Walnut Creek, C.A.: Left Coast Press.

Quigley, C. (1996). *The corpse: a history.* Jefferson, N.C.: MacFarland.

Radford, U.M. (1949). 'The wax images found in Exeter Cathedral', *The Antiquaries Journal, 29,* pp.164-8.

Ramsay, N. & Sparks, M. (Eds.) (1995). *A history of Canterbury cathedral.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reddan, M. & Sievers, N. (1914). 'Religious Houses of Hertfordshire: after the Conquest'. In W. Page (Ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Hertford: volume 4* (pp.372-415). London: Constable & Victoria County History.

Reynolds, A. (2009). *Anglo-Saxon deviant burial customs.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richardson, J.T. (2014). 'Photograph of Pope Gregory's high altar and confessio, circa seventh century'. Retrieved from: http://lonelypilgrim.com/2012/05/14/the-tomb-of-st-peter/

Rickman, T. (1817). *Attempts to discriminate the styles of English architecture.* London: Longman & Co.

Riley, H.T. (1867). *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani: volume I.* London: Longmans & co.

Ripon Cathedral. (1985). *Minster alive: a tour of Ripon Cathedral.* Ripon: Dean and Chapter Ripon Cathedral.

Ripon Cathedral. (1975). *Ripon Cathedral, crypt and treasury: historic church plate from the Diocese of Ripon.* Ripon: Dean and Chapter Ripon Cathedral.

Robb, J., & Harris, O.J.T. (Eds.) (2013). *The body in history: Europe from the Paleolithic to the future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Roberts, C. (2006). 'A view from afar: bioarchaeology in Britain'. In J.E. Buikstra & L.A. Beck (Eds.), *Bioarchaeology: the contextual analysis of human remains* (pp.417-440). Burlington, M.A.: Elsevier.

Rodaway, P. (1994). *Sensuous geographies: body, sense and place.* London: Routledge.

Rodwell, W. (2005). *The archaeology of churches.* Stroud: Tempus.

Roffey, S. (2004). 'Reconstructing English medieval parish church chantries and chapels: an archaeological approach'. *Church Archaeology, 5-6,* pp.62-68.

Roffey, S. (2007). *The medieval chantry chapel: an archaeology.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Roffey, S. (2011). 'Romantic anachronisms? chantry chapels of the nineteenth century.' In C. King, & D. Sayer (Eds.), *The archaeology of post-medieval religion* (pp. 67-82). Woodbridge: Boydell.

Rogers, B. (2012). 'Unwrapping the past: Egyptian mummies on show'. In J. Kember, J. Plunkett & J.A. Sullivan (Eds.), *Popular exhibitions, science and showmanship, 1840–1910* (pp. 199-218**).** London**:** Pickering & Chatto.

Rose, M., Thomas, G., & Wells, J. (1998). *A short graffiti tour of Saint Albans Abbey.* St. Albans: Fraternity of the Friends of Saint Albans Abbey Occasional Papers 3.

Rubenstein, J. C. (1999). 'Liturgy against history: the competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury'. *Medieval Academy of America, 74*(2), pp. 279-309.

Rubenstein, J. C. (2004). 'Eadmer of Canterbury (b. *c.*1060, d. in or after 1126)'. Retrieved from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8383

Rushbrook-Williams, L.F. (1917). *History of the Abbey of St. Alban.* London: Longsman Green.

Ruskin, J. (1849). *The seven lamps of architecture.* New York, N.Y.: John Wiley.

Ruskin, J. (1851). *The Stones of Venice.* London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Rylands, J.P. (1882) *Cheshire and Lancashire funeral certificates, A.D. 1600 to 1678.* London: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Ryves, B. (1732[1646]). *Mercurius Rusticus: an account of the sacriliges* (5th Edition). London: W. Mears.

Sand, A. (2014). *Vision, devotion, and self-representation in late medieval art.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saul, N. (2001). *Death, art and memory in medieval England: the Cobham family and their monuments, 1300-1500.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saul, N. (2009). *English church monuments in the Middle Ages: history and representation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sayer, D. (2009). 'Laws, funerals and cemetery organisation: the seventh-century Kentish family'. In D. Sayer, & H. Williams (Eds.), *Mortuary practices and social identities in the middle ages* (pp. 141-169). Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Sayer, D. (2010). *Ethics and burial archaeology.* London: Duckworth.

Sayer, D. (2011a). 'Death and the Dissenter: group identity and stylistic simplicity as witnessed in nineteenth-century nonconformist gravestones'. *Historical Archaeology, 45*(4), 115-134.

Sayer, D. (2011b). 'The organization of post-medieval churchyards, cemeteries and grave plots: variation and religious identity as seen in Protestant burial provisions'. In C. King, & D. Sayer (Eds.), *The archaeology of post-medieval religion* (pp. 199-214). Woodbridge: Boydell.

Sayer, D. & Williams, H. (Eds.) (2010). *Mortuary practices and social identities in the Middle Ages: essays in burial archaeology in honour of Heinrich Härke.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Semple, S. (1998). 'A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo Saxon England'. *World Archaeology, 30* (1) , pp. 109-126.

Semple, S. (2015). *Perceptions of the prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: religion, ritual, and rulership in the landscape.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seremetakis, N.C. (1991). *The last word: women, death, and divination in Inner Mani.* Chicago, I.L.: University of Chicago Press.

Shannon Hendrix, J. (2010). *Architecture as cosmology: Lincoln Cathedral and English Gothic architecture*. New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang.

Sheils, W.J. (2004). 'Holme, Wilfrid (d. 1538)'. Retrieved from *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101053917/Wilfrid-Holme

Sherlock, P. (1999). 'Academic commemoration: monuments at Corpus Christi College, Oxford 1517-1700'. *Church Monuments, 14*, pp.80-87.

Sherlock, P. (2004). 'Episcopal tombs in early modern England'. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 4*, pp.654-680.

Sherlock, P. (2008). 'Patriarchal memory: monuments in early modern England'. In M. Cassidy-Welch & P. Sherlock (Eds.), *Practices of gender in late medieval and early modern England* (pp.279-299). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Sherlock, P. (2011a). 'Militant masculinity and the monuments of Westminster abbey'. In S. Broomhall & J. Van Gent (Eds.), *Governing masculinities in the early modern period: regulating selves and others* (pp.131-152). Farnham: Ashgate.

Sherlock, P. (2011b). *Monuments and memory in early modern England.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Shoemaker, R.B. (1999). ‘Reforming male manners: public insult and the decline of violence in London, 1660- 1740’. In T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (Eds.), *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (pp. 133-150). New York, N.Y.: Longman.

Siraisi, N.G. (1990). *Medieval and early Renaissance medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice.* Chicago, I.L.: University of Chicago Press.

Skeates, R. (2010). *An archaeology of the senses: prehistoric Malta.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, M. (2007). *Sensing the past: seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching in history.* Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press.

Somner, W. (1703 [1640]). *The antiquities of Canterbury in two parts.* London: Knaplock.

Southey, R. (1807). *Letters from England.* London: Longman & Co.

Spraggon, J. (2003). *Puritan iconoclasm during the English Civil War.* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.

St Albans (1815). *History of Verulam and St. Albans.* St Albans: S.G. Shaw.

St John Hope, W.H. (1895). ‘The Achievements of Edward, Prince of Wales (the ‘Black Prince’) in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury’. *Vetusta Monumenta 7*(2), pp.1-10.

St. John Hope, W.H. (1897). 'Notes on the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester' *Archaeological Journal, 54,* pp.77-119.

St John Hope, W.H. (1899). ‘Notes on recent discoveries in the cathedral church at Norwich’. *Antiquaries Journal,* (2nd series), *17,* pp.304-10; 353-363.

St John Hope, W.H. (1900). *The architectural history of the cathedral church and monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester.* London: Mitchell & Hughes.

St John Hope, W.H. (1910). ‘The site of the Saxon cathedral church of Wells’’. *Archaeological Journal, 67,* pp. 223-234.

St Leonard's Church (n.d.). 'The Bones and skulls collection in the crypt'. Retrieved from *St Leonard's Church, Hythe, Kent,* website at: http://www.stleonardschurchhythekent.org/thecrypt.html

Stanley, A.P. (1911). *Historical memorials of Canterbury.* London: J.M. Dent.

Staunton, M. (2001). *The lives of Thomas Becket: selected sources* (Trans. M. Staunton). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stocker, D., & Everson, P. (1990). 'Rubbish recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire. In D. Parsons (Ed.), *Stone: building and quarrying in England, AD43-1525* (pp. 83-101). Chichester: Phillimore.

Stokes, A. (1934). *The quattro cento, a different conception of the Italian renaissance. part two: Stones of Rimini.* London: Faber & Faber.

Storer, J. (1814). *History and antiquities of the cathedral churches of Great Britain.* London: Rivingtons.

Stow, J. (1908 [1603]). *A Survey of London.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Stuchfield, M. (2002) 'Serial Theft of Brasses', *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society 91* (Sept), pp.631-5.

SuffMGS (2013). 'Catalogue'. Retrieved from *Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey* website at: http://www.medieval-graffiti-suffolk.co.uk/page4.html

Swanton, M. (1991). *Exeter Cathedral: a celebration.* Exeter: Dean & Chapter of Exeter.

Sweeney, E.*C.* (2012). *Anselm of Canterbury and the desire for the Word.* Washington, D.*C.*: Catholic University of America Press.

Tait, J. (1923). *The chartulary or register of the Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester: part II.* Manchester: Chetham Society.

Tarlow, S. (1999a). *Bereavement and commemoration: an archaeology of mortality.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Tarlow, S. (1999b). ‘Wormie Clay and Blessed Sleep: death and disgust in later historic Britain’. In S. Tarlow & S. West (Eds.), *The familiar past? archaeologies of later historical Britain* (pp. 183-198). London: Routledge.

Tarlow, S. (2000). ‘Emotion in archaeology’. *Current Anthropology, 41*(5), pp. 713-746.

Tarlow, S. (2002). ‘The aesthetic corpse in nineteenth-century Britain.’ In Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik & S. Tarlow (Eds.), *Thinking through the body: archaeologies of corporeality* (pp.85–97). London: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Tarlow, S. (2003). ‘Reformation and transformation: what happened to Catholic things in a Protestant world?’. In D. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist (Eds.), *The archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (pp.108-121). Leeds: Maney

Tarlow, S. (2008). ‘The extraordinary history of Oliver Cromwell’s Head’. In D. Borić & J. Robb (Eds.), *Past-Bodies: body-centred research in archaeology* (pp. 69-78). Oxford: Oxbow.

Tarlow, S. (2011). *Ritual, belief, and the dead body in early modern Britain and Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Tarlow, S. (2012). ‘The archaeology of emotion and affect’. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 41*, pp.169-185.

Tatton-Brown, T. (1980). ‘The Roper Chantry in St. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury’. *Antiquaries Journal, 60,* pp.227-246.

Tatton-Brown, T. (1989). *Great cathedrals of Britain.* London: BBC Books.

Tatton-Brown, T. (1998). ‘The two great marble pavements in the sanctuary and shrine area of Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey’. In J. Fawcett (Ed.), *Historic Floors: their care and conservation* (pp.53-62). Burlington, M.A.: Elsevier.

Tatton-Brown, T. (2002). ‘Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England’. In C. Morris & P. Roberts (Eds.), *Pilgrimage: the English experience from Becket to Bunyan* (pp. 90-107). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tatton-Brown, T., & Crook, J. (2002). *The English cathedral.* London: New Holland.

Tatton-Brown, T., & Crook, J. (2009). *Salisbury Cathedral: the making of a Medieval masterpiece.* London: Scala.

Tatton-Brown, T., & Munby, J. (Eds.) (1996). *The archaeology of cathedrals.* Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 42.

Turner, A.J. & Muir, B.J. (2006). *Eadmer of Canterbury: lives and miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, B. (1875). *Picturesque Europe: volume 1.* New York, N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co.

Taylor, H.M. (1999). ‘The Anglo-Saxon Church at Canterbury’. In C. Karkov (Ed.), *The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: basic readings* (pp.155-194). New York, N.Y.: Garland.

Thacker, A. (2004). ‘Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (*c.*634–709/10)’. Retrieved from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029409/Wilfrid

Thacker, A. (Ed). (2000). *Medieval archaeology, art and architecture at Chester.* Leeds: British Archaeological Association/Maney.

Thomas, C. (1973). *Bede, archaeology and the cult of relics.* Jarrow on Tyne: The Jarrow Lecture 1973.

Thomas, J. (2000). ‘Death, identity and the body in Neolithic Britain’. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 6*(4), pp. 653-668.

Thompson, V. (2004). *Dying and death in later Anglo-Saxon England.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Tilley, C. (1991). *Material culture and text: the art of ambiguity.* London: Routledge.

Tilley, C. (1994). *A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths and monuments.* Oxford: Berg.

Tsaliki, A. (2008). 'Unusual burials and necrophobia: an insight into the burial archaeology of fear'. In E.M. Murphy (Ed.), *Deviant burial in the archaeological record* (pp. 1-16). Oxford: Oxbow.

Tummers, H. (1980). *Early secular effigies in England: the thirteenth century.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

University of Sheffield (2015). 'The Rothwell Charnel Chapel Project'. Retrieved from *The University of Sheffield* website at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/archaeology/research/rothwell_chapel

University of Toronto (n.d.). Wenceslas Hollar Ichnography of Canterbury Cathedral 17th century. Retrieved from *University of Toronto Digital Hollar Collection* at: http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/digobject.cfm?Idno=Hollar_k_0944&query=Hollar_k_0944&size=large&type=browse

Urry, W. (1975). 'Some note on two resting places of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury'. In R. Foreville (Ed.), *Thomas Becket Actes du Colloque International de Sedieres 19-24 août 1973* (pp.195-209). Paris: Beauchesne.

Valdez del Álamo, E., & Prendegast C. P. (Eds.) (2000). *Memory and the medieval tomb*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Van Gennep, A. (2004 [1909]). The rites of passage. In A.C.G.M. Robben (Ed.) *Death, mourning, and burial: a cross-cultural reader* (pp.213-223). Oxford: Blackwell

Van Haperen, M. (2010). 'Rest in pieces: an interpretative model of early medieval 'grave robbery'. *Medieval and modern matters 1*, pp.1-35.

Vaughn, S. (2012). *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec missionary, Canterbury primate, patriarch of another world.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Walbran, J.R. (1846). ‘On a crypt in Ripon cathedral, commonly called St Wilfrid’s Needle; with observations on the early history of the church of Ripon’. *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association 2nd Annual Congress, Winchester 1845,* pp. 339-354.

Walbran, J.R. (1848). ‘Observations on the Saxon crypt under the cathedral church at Ripon, commonly called St Wilfrid’s Needle’. *Royal Archaeological Institute York Meeting 1846,* pp.1–11.

Walbran, J.R. (1859). ‘On St Wilfrid and the Saxon church at Ripon’. *Associated Architectural Society Reports and Papers, 5*(1), pp.63-96.

Wall, J.C. (1905). *Shrines of British saints***.** London: Methuen.

Walker, G. (2003). *Crime, gender and social order in early modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walsham, A. (2010). ‘Skeletons in the cupboard: relics after the English Reformation’. In A. Walsham (Ed.) *Relics and remains: past and present supplement 5* (pp.121-143). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wandel, L.P. (1995). *Voracious idols and violent hands: iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waterton, E. (1863). ‘On episcopal rings’. *Archaeological Journal, 20,* pp.224-238.

Ward, J.P. (Ed). (2008). *Violence, politics, and gender in early modern England.* New York, N.Y.: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ward S. (2000). ‘Recent work at St John’s and St Werburgh’s’. In A. Thacker (Ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester* (pp. 45-56). BAA Conference Transactions 22.

Weever, J. (1767[1631]). *Antient funeral monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent.* London: W. Tooke.

Weiss-Krejci, E. (2001). ‘Restless corpses: ‘secondary burial’ in the Babenberg and Habsburg dynasties’. *Antiquity, 75*(290), pp.769–781.

Weiss-Krejci, E. (2005). ‘Excarnation, evisceration, and exhumation in medieval and post-medieval Europe’. In G. Rakita, J. Buikstra, L. Beck & S. Williams (Eds.), *Interacting with the dead: perspectives on mortuary archaeology for the new millennium* (pp.155-172). Gainesville, F.L.: University of Florida Press.

Wells, E.J. (2011). ‘Making 'sense' of the pilgrimage experience of the medieval Church', *Peregrinations Journal, 3*(2), pp.122–146.

Whalley, T. (2007). ‘Glasgow Cathedral: standing building survey”. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland: the journal of archaeology Scotland, 8,* pp.101-101.

Wilcox, J. (Ed.) (2013). *Scraped, stroked, and bound: materially engaged readings of medieval manuscripts.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Williams, H. (2003). ‘Material culture as memory – combs and cremation in early medieval Britain’. *Early Medieval Europe 12*(2), pp. 89–128.

Williams, H. (2004). ‘Death warmed up: the agency of bodies and bones in early Anglo-Saxon cremation rites’. *Journal of Material Culture, 9*, pp. 263-291.

Williams, H. (2006). *Death and memory in early medieval Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, H. (2007a). ‘The emotive force of early medieval mortuary practices’. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge, 22*(1), pp. 107-122.

Williams, H. (2007b). ‘Transforming body and soul: toilet implements in early Anglo-Saxon graves’. *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History, 14*, pp. 66-91.

Williams, H. (2015).' Beowulf and archaeology: megaliths imagined and encountered in early medieval Europe' In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuán, & D. Wheatley (Eds.), *The lives of prehistoric monuments in Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval Europe* (pp. 77-98). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willis, R. (1842). *Report of a survey of the dilapidated portions of Hereford Cathedral in the Year 1841*. London: Longmans & Co.

Willis, R. (1845). *The architectural history of Canterbury Cathedral.* London: Longmans & Co.

Willis, R. (1846). *The architectural history of Winchester Cathedral.* London: Longmans & Co.

Willis, R. (1848). *The architectural history of York Cathedral.* London: The Office of the Archaeological Institute.

Willis, R. (1861a). *The Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral.* Chichester: W.H. Mason.

Willis, R. (1861b). *Memoir on foundations of early buildings, recently discovered in Lichfield Cathedral.* London: Office of the Archaeological Institute.

Willis, R. (1867). *Photographic illustrations to accompany the architectural history of Canterbury Cathedral.* Oxford: James Parker and Co.

Willis, R. (1869). *The architectural history of the conventual buildings of Christ Church, Canterbury.* London: Kent Archæological Society/Taylor & co.

Wilson, C. (1995). 'The medieval monuments'. In P. Collinson, N. Ramsay & M. Sparks (Eds.) *A history of Canterbury Cathedral* (pp. 451-510). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, D.M. (2002). *The British Museum: a history.* London: The British Museum Press.

Wilson, J. (1990). ‘Holy innocents: some aspects of the iconography of children on English Renaissance tombs.’ *Church Monuments, 5,* pp. 57-63.

Wilson, J. (2002). ‘Dead fruit: commemoration of still-born and unbaptized children in early modern England’ *Church Monuments, 17,* pp.89-106

Wilson, J. (2003). ‘The darlings of the gods: monuments to adolescents in early modern England.’ *Church Monuments, 18,* pp.65-89.

Winter, M., & Gasson, R. (1996). ‘Pilgrimage and tourism: cathedral visiting in contemporary England’. *International Journal of Heritage Studies 2*(3), pp.172-182.

Woodruff, C.E. & Danks, W. (1912) *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Christ in Canterbury.* London: Chapman & Hall

York Archaeological Trust (2009). *37th Annual Report, 2008-2009.* York: York Archaeological Trust.

Zarnecki, G. (Ed.) (1978). *Cathedrals and monastic buildings in the British Isles; part 8: Canterbury: romanesque work.* London: Harvey Miller/The Courtauld Institute of Art.